HIPPO REGIUS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ARAB CONQUEST

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

HOLMES VAN MATER DENNIS 3d.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

PRINCETON
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
1924

3781
P95D
UNCLASSED

HIPPO REGIUS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ARAB CONQUEST

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

HOLMES VAN MATER DENNIS 3d.

PRINCETON
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
1924

Accepted by the Department of Classics, June 1923

PREFACE

This dissertation, which is an attempt to collect in one account and to evaluate the broken and scattered notices of the history of Hippo Regius, was sugested to me by Dean A. F. West and has been written under his suggestive and helpful direction. In it I have endeavored to bring together in a usable from what is known or may be reasonably conjectured about Hippo Regius in antiquity. In a work of this kind it has been impossible to attain to completeness of treatment and I have omitted certain subjects altogether—among them the archaeology of the place which could be satisfactorily treated only by one on the ground and the relation of St. Augustine to his episcopal city which I hope to treat elsewhere.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging my thanks also to Professor F. F. Abbott for help in planning the work; to Professor D. R. Stuart for constant help on many vexatious points; and to Professors J. H. Westcott and A. C. Johnson for help in regard to certain technical points. Mr. M. V. Kern of Princeton University has given me much valuable help in revising the translations and checking the references, and Mr. H. S. Leach, of the University Library, has been unfailingly helpful in assisting me to locate obscure books and in borrowing for me books which were not in the Princeton Library. I wish also to thank Professor A. M. Harmon of Yale University for help in connection with the passages from En Noweiri.

My indebtedness to the works of modern scholars will be made clear by an examination of the footnotes and of the bibliography but I wish to call attention to my particular indebtedness to the very important publications of M. Stéphane Gsell. There are two books which I should have particularly liked to consult but which I have been unable to procure. They are: Niel, *Bône et ses environs,* and Papier, *Lettres sur Hippone.*

Princeton, N. J. H. V. M. Dennis 3d.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/hipporegius0000holm

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
I. SITUATION AND TOPOGRAPHY	1
II. CLIMATE, PRODUCTS, AND NATURAL RESOURCES	9
III. ETHNOLOGY	12
IV. LANGUAGE	17
V. NAME AND FOUNDATION	22
VI. PROVINCIAL STATUS	25
VII. MUNICIPAL STATUS AND GOVERNMENT	28
VIII. TERRITORIUM AND IMPERIAL DOMAINS	31
IX. DIOCESE	33
X. BISHOPS	35
XI. COUNCILS	43
XII. MILITARY HISTORY	56
XIII. THE DESTRUCTION OF HIPPO REGIUS AND THE FOUNDATION OF BONA	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
I. SOURCES	66
II. MODERN WORKS	68
INDEX	71

SITUATION AND TOPOGRAPHY

That part of the world which is known as "North Africa" extends westward from the Lesser Syrtis to the Atlantic and southward from the Mediterranean to the Sahara. Its surface is varied, consisting of sea-coast, table-land, and mountains. The coastal region consists of a narrow strip of varying width. Back of it are a range of mountains, a lofty plateau, and then another range of mountains, some of which rise to a height of over 10,000 feet. To the south the land again slopes away to the Sahara Desert.[1]

In the eastern part of this territory, about 125 miles west of the site of Carthage, stands the city of Bona near the mouth of the river Seybouse.[2] Its latitude and longitude are approximately 37°N. and 8° E. (Greenwich).

A little more than a mile to the southwest of the modern city lie the ruins of Hippo Regius.[3] This city, best known as the episcopal seat of St. Augustine, had a varied history which probably extended over a period of nearly 2,000 years. It was founded by the Phenicians, or Carthaginians, and was destroyed or abandoned during the Middle Ages.

It was built in a plain dominated by two hills, one of which rising to a height of about 175 feet is known as the "Hill of St. Augustine," while the other, which is 110 feet high, is called the "Gharf el Artran."[4]

The question of the location of the ancient mouth of the

[1] For a convenient recent large-scale map see *The Daily Telegraph Victory Atlas*, pp. 191-192.

[2] The Geographer of Ravenna (in *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. Pinder & Parthey, p. 152) mentions the *Ubus flumen* among the rivers of Numidia and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* places its mouth five miles east of Hippo Regius. It is the only river of importance mentioned near Hippo Regius. Tissot, *Géographie de la province romaine d'Afrique*, I. p. 45, says that the word "Seybouse" is a compound made up of the Arabic word *Sif* (river) and *Ubus*, the name of the river. The identification of the Seybouse with the Ubus is, therefore, practically certain. It flows through a plain which marks a distinct break in the Lesser Atlas (Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, I. p. 5).

[3] Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, Texte, IX. no. 59.

[4] *ibid.* Texte, IX. no. 59.

Seybouse in relation to the site of the city presents the following difficulty; El Békri, who lived in the eleventh century, says: "Elle (Hippo Regius) est située----sur une colline----qui domine la ville de Sebous"[5] and the ruins are today near the *river* Seybouse, but the *Tabula Peutingeriana* places the mouth of this river about five miles to the east of Hippo Regius. The most probable explanation of this problem is the one accepted by Gsell. It is that the branch of the Seybouse, known as "El Khelidj," marks the earlier course of the Seybouse in its lower reaches and that the change of the main stream to the present course occurred some time prior to the eleventh century. The time and cause of this change are unknown. It is probable that until this change took place the sea reached farther inland than it does at present and that the harbor was not far from the "Gharf el Artran." If this was the case, it was well sheltered from west and north-west winds, but not from east winds.[6]

Whether this town was a new foundation, or merely a refoundation of an earlier Libyan settlement, is not known, but its suitability for defense, its harbor, and its location are in themselves sufficient to account for its foundation and long-continued existence.

Gsell, who apparently bases his opinion on two passages from St. Augustine, believes that the place was insalubrious. His opinion is probably correct.[7]

The reader who is interested in the topography of this place is referred to Gsell's *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie,* but mention must here be made of the roads which passed through or radiated from it, as they furnish an indication of its commercial importance. Another indication of its wealth and importance is found in the fact that gladiatorial shows were given there.[8]

Under the Roman Empire North Africa was covered with a

[5] *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale* (tr. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique,* 1859, p. 72). There are two possible explanations of the expression *la ville de Sebous*; either that El Békri mistook the name of the river for that of a village, or that an unimportant village grew up near the mouth of the river and took its name from the river. See The Geographer of Ravenna (in *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia,* ed. Pinder & Parthey, pp. 347-8; p. 148?); also Guido (*ibid.* p. 518).

[6] Gsell, *Atlas,* Texte, IX. p. 5 and no. 180.

[7] *ibid.* Texte, IX. p. 5; Aug. *Epist.* 118.34; 126. 4; see also El Békri (tr. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique,* 1859, p. 73).

[8] Gsell, *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie,* I. nos. 13; 95; 96.

complicated net-work of roads. For example; from Cirta roads led to Rusicade, Milevum, Tipasa, and Hippo Regius, while from Hippo Regius other roads led to Rusicade, Tipasa, Simittu, and Carthage.[9] This example is typical of other North African cities and shows clearly how closely the different parts of the country were connected for both commercial and military operations.

Seven or possibly eight main roads led from Hippo Regius to coast and inland towns. It is often impossible to trace accurately the routes which they followed, but, as it is our purpose merely to point out the extent and importance of the road-system which converged on the town, it makes little difference whether, for example, the roads which led to Tipasa and to Thagaste followed the same course for part of the way or diverged immediately after leaving the city. The brief enumeration of the various roads which follows is made with such considerations in mind.[10]

Two routes led from Hippo Regius to Rusicade and points west, the one around the coast through Tacatua, the other by the shorter inland route. Two led east to Carthage, the shorter through Tuniza, Tabraca, Hippo Diarrhytus, and Utica, the longer through Simittu, Bulla Regia, and Thuburbo Minus. Three led into the hinterland, one to the south-west to Cirta, and two to the south-east to Sicca Veneria, the one through Tipasa, the other through Thagaste.

In addition to these routes, which are indicated by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini,* Gsell believes that there was another which ran toward the West "par la vallée des Kharéza et le N. du lac Fetzara" and rejoined the coast road at Paratianis.[11]

When it is remembered that Hippo Regius was one of the better ports on the northern coast of Africa and that the country lying behind it was a well-favored section of one of the richest of the Roman Provinces, the reason for these many roads will be readily seen and the importance of the city will be apparent.

[9] *Tab. Peut.*

[10] See Note A which follows this section.

[11] Gsell, *Atlas,* Texte, IX. p. 10.

NOTE A. THE ROADS ENTERING HIPPO REGIUS

The following table will give a more detailed idea of the Roman roads which entered Hippo Regius than that given in the preceding section.

ROUTE No. 1. Coast road from Hippo Regius to Rusicade and west.

Tabula Peutingeriana.	*Itinerarium Antonini.*
Hyppone Regio	Hippone regio colonia
33	32
Sublucu	Sullucco
18	22
Tacatua	Tacatua
7	
Muharur	18
8	
Zaca	
7	
Culucitani	Cullicitanis
16	18
Paratianis	Paratianis
25	25
Rusicade Colonia	Rusicade
114	115 =Total in Roman miles.

ROUTE No. 2. Inland road from Hippo Regius to Rusicade and west.

Tabula Peutingeriana.
Hyppone Regio
15
Ad plumbaria
17
Nedibus
44
Rusicade Colonia
76 =Total in Roman miles.

ROUTE No. 3. Coast road from Hippo Regius to Carthage.

Tabula Peutingeriana.	*Itinerarium Antonini*
Hyppone Regio	Hippone regio colonia
5	32
Ubus flumen	
10	Ad Dianam
Armoniacum flumen	15
30	
Tuniza	Tuniza
24	24
Tabraca	Tabraca
60	60
Ipponte diarito	Hippone Zarito
20	20
Tunisa	Tuna
10	10
Memblone	Membro
6	6
Utica Colonia	Utica
6	12
Gallum Gallinatium	Ad Gallum gallinacium
15	15
Carthagine colonia	Carthagine
186	194 = Total in Roman miles.

ROUTE No. 4. Inland road from Hippo Regius to Carthage.

Tabula Peutingeriana.	*Itinerarium Antonini.*
Hyppone Regio	Hippone regio
50	50
Odiana	Onellaba
25	25
Ad Aquas	Ad Aquas
5	5
Simitu Colonia	Simittu colonia[1]
7	7
Bulla Regia	Bulla regia
12	
Ad Silma	24
12	
Armascla fl.	
6	
Novis Aquilianis	Novis Aquilianis
9	
Picus	16
7	
Vico Augusti	Vico Augusti
7	
Teglata	
13	30
Elefantaria	
10	
Clucar	Cluacaria
16	15
Thuburbominus	Thuburbo minus
3	
Thuraria	28
15	
Cicisa	Cigisa
19	18
Carthagine colon.	Carthagine
209	218 = Total in Roman miles.

[1] New bridge built by Trajan in 112, *C.I.L.* VIII. no. 10117.

ROUTE No. 5. From Hippo Regius to the south-western hinterland.

Tabula Peutingeriana.	*Itinerarium Antonini.*
Hyppone Regio	Hippone regio
30	25
Ad villam Servilianam	Ad Villam Servilianam
15	15
Aquis Thibilitanis	Aquis Tibilitanis
54	54
Cirta colonia	Cirta
99	94 =Total in Roman miles.

ROUTE No. 6. From Hippo Regius to the south-east.

Tabula Peutingeriana.
Hyppone Regio
25
Vico Iuliani
18
Tipasa
12
Ad molas
6
Vasidice
5
Thacora
5
Gegetu

Naraggara
12
Sicca Veneria
83 =Total in Roman miles.

ROUTE No. 7. From Hippo Regius to the south-east.

Itinerarium Antonini.

Hippone regio

53

Tagaste

25

Naraggara

32

Sicca Veneria

110 = Total in Roman miles.

ROUTE No. 8. From Hippo Regius to the west.

For this route see page 5 above, and Gsell, *Atlas*, Texte, IX. p. 10.

CLIMATE, PRODUCTS, AND NATURAL RESOURCES

An account of Hippo Regius would be incomplete unless it contained some reference to the climate and to the products and natural resources of the surrounding country. In this work, however, it is not necessary to treat these subjects comprehensively. Accordingly, in the following paragraphs reference will be made to an extended treatment of the climate and of the fauna and flora of North Africa and certain points of special interest in regard to Hippo Regius will be noticed in detail.

In his *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Gsell has devoted a long chapter to the subject of climate.[1] He discusses the present climate, the climate in pre-historic times, and then, after a long and carefully documented argument in regard to the climate in historical antiquity, concludes as follows:

"As for North Africa properly so-called, it enjoyed a climate if not like, at least very analogous to, the present climate. Drought was usual in the summer, and sometimes lasted during the whole year. The rains were irregular and often torrential; they were in general much less abundant in the interior of the country than in the neighborhood of the Atlantic and of the Mediterranean—that is from the Strait of Gibraltar to Cape Bon. It is possible that this country may have been a little moister than today; in lack of proof one may invoke certain indications which are not without value. But, to put it briefly, if the climate of Barbary has changed since the Roman period, it is only to a very slight extent."[2]

In view of Gsell's statement the following figures will be of interest. The annual rainfall at Bona is approximately 29 inches,[3] nearly double that of Athens, which is approximately 15.9 inches.[4] In regard to the temperature of the coastal districts Gsell says: "It is rare that the thermometer goes below freezing, at least during the day, and that it mounts above 30 degrees centigrade (86 degrees Fahrenheit)."[5] The lowest average tempera-

[1] I. pp. 40–99.
[2] *ibid.* I. p. 99.
[3] *ibid.* I. p. 48.
[4] *World Almanac* (1923), p. 69.
[5] *Hist.* I. p. 41.

ture at Athens for a month is 46 degrees Fahrenheit (January) and the highest is 81 (July).[6]

The wealth of North Africa in antiquity is almost proverbial. In his *Richesse minérale de l'Algéric,* Fournel has a chapter on Bona and its environs.[7] It is certain that iron was mined near there in the Middle Ages;[8] and if Fournel is right, it was first mined there by the Vandals.[9] Marble was probably the chief mineral product in Roman times.[10]

The fauna of North Africa are discussed by Gsell in his *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord.*[11] It may be of interest to remark in passing that, whereas elephants were common in early times, they disappeared during the first centuries of the Christian era and that, although camels are now very common, the first mention of them in North Africa is from the time of Julius Caesar and that they apparently were not used extensively until much later.[12]

The flora and agriculture of this part of the world are described by Gsell in numerous passages in his *Histoire.*[13] The following products were cultivated: wheat; barley; the vine; various fruits, especially olives, figs, and pomegranates; almonds; walnuts; dates; and various vegetables.[14]

The following passages from ancient and medieval writers bear particularly upon the wealth and products of Hippo Regius.

Livy says:[15] "Gaius Laelius had arrived at Hippo Regius by night and had at the break of day led forth his soldiers and naval allies *ad populandum agrum*----he (later) set sail from Hippo Regius with his ships loaded with booty." From this passage it is apparent that the city and the circumjacent country were rich at the time of the second Punic War.

El Békri says:[16] "The environs (of Hippo Regius) are very

[6] *World Almanac* (1923), p. 69.

[7] I. pp. 30-110.

[8] Ibn Haucal, *Description de l'Afrique* (tr. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique,* 1842, pp. 181 ff.); *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (tr. Reinaud, Tome II, 1ère partie [Paris, 1848] p. 194).

[9] *Richesse,* I. pp. 56-58.

[10] *ibid.* I. pp. 35 ff.

[11] I. pp. 100-137; 216-234.

[12] *ibid.* I. pp. 74-80; 59-61.

[13] I. pp. 137-176; 234-239; IV. pp. 1-52.

[14] *ibid.* IV. pp. 9-37. See, however, Aug. *Serm.* 46. 39.

[15] XXIX. 3. 7 through 5. 1.

[16] tr. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique,* 1859, pp. 72-73.

rich in fruits and cereals.----To the west of the city (Bona) is a stream which waters the gardens and makes of that locality a pleasure-ground.----Meat, milk, fish, and honey are found there in great abundance. Beef is consumed in large quantities."

Ibn Haucal says:[17] "The gardens of the environs (of Bona) produce a great amount of fruit and still more is brought from the surrounding country. At all times wheat and barley are, one might say, a drug on the market." He goes on to say that the neighboring regions produce iron, flax, sheep, cattle, camels, horses, and other valuable commodities.

And finally Leo Africanus, who lived in the sixteenth century, says:[18] "It is called----Beld Elhuneb, that is the City of the Jujubes, on account of the great abundance of that fruit which is thereabouts----its territory has very good pasturage and is inhabited----it is tilled and there are there many cows, beeves, and sheep." Further on he speaks of butter and coral as being among the products of the region.

Although but one of these passages referring to the richness of the country surrounding Hippo comes from classical times, it seems reasonable to conclude from them and from the general conditions which obtained in North Africa in antiquity that at least after the end of the third century before Christ, the country surrounding Hippo Regius was rich in the increase of the soil and of the flock and herd. In addition to these products the quarrying of marble in the vicinity may have heightened the prosperity of this city.

[17] Tr. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique*, 1842, p. 182. See also *Géographie d'Aboulféda* (tr. Reinaud, Tome II, 1ère partie [Paris, 1848] p. 194).

[18] *Della Descrittione Dell'Africa* (in Ramusio, *Navigationi et Viaggi*, I. p. 65 [fourth edition]—incorrectly numbered p. 71).

ETHNOLOGY

An account of those peoples who, from the beginning of history until the Arab Conquest, inhabited that tract of country in which Hippo Regius was situated, should begin with a study of the races of North Africa.[1] The Egyptians, the Ethiopians, and the other races, more or less remote from the coastal district lying between *Cyrenaïca* and the Pillars, need not enter into the discussion. The races with which we are concerned may be conveniently divided into two groups; the first composed of those already there at the dawn of history, the second of those who came within historical times. The meager and unsatisfactory notices in Greek and Roman authors concerning the races there before historical times may be supplemented by an examination of the representations of these people on the walls of tombs and of temples and by a study of skeletons and skulls and of the present inhabitants of Algeria and the neighboring regions. As a result of such examination and study modern scholars seem to be agreed that those who are today known as the Berbers have from time immemorial formed the basis of the population, far outnumbering all the other elements combined, and have remained practically unaffected by the successive waves of traders, colonists, invaders, and conquerors who have swept over their native land.[2]

A final determination of whether these Berbers are of pure stock or of mixed, whether they are indigenous, and, if not, whence they came, would depend on evidence which is now and probably always will be lacking. Yet the classical texts which treat of this subject, although obviously not to be taken at their face value and although dismissed by Gsell as outside the domain of history,[3] tend to confirm the conclusions of anthropologists, linguists, and archaeologists that the Berbers are closely related to the peoples of Southern Europe and North Africa, being the

[1] For a fuller general discussion of this subject and an abundance of references to special literature see Gsell, *Hist.* I. pp. 275-308; 327-357; also, IV. pp. 171 ff.

[2] *ibid.* I. p. 275.

[3] *ibid.* I. p. 327.

product, as some scholars think, of a mixture of these two stocks.[4]

Herodotus[5] says that North Africa was inhabited by four nations, no more; that two of these—the Libyans and the Ethiopians—were autochthonous; and two—the Phenicians and the Greeks—were not. The Libyans are now represented by the Berbers and of the other nations mentioned only the Phenicians seem to have played an important role in Numidia.

Sallust[6] gives what purports to be an account of "what men originally held Africa." He says it was translated to him from the Punic books of King Hiempsal and was believed by the natives but was different from the generally accepted account. Though not commonly accepted in the first century B.C., it seems to have gained in favor, for it persisted at least till the time of Isidore of Seville who repeats essentially the same story as Sallust but with many strange additions.[7]

Sallust's account is, in brief, as follows: that at first the Getulians and Libyans held Africa, but after Hercules died in Spain his army broke up and the Medes, Persians, and Armenians crossed the Straits; that the Persians lived *intra oceanum magis*, gradually intermarried with the Getulians, and from their wandering life called themselves *Nomades;* that the buildings of the rural Numidians which they call *mapalia* still recall by their form the boats under which the Persians first lived after landing; that the Libyans corrupted the name of the Medes to *Mauri*; that the Persians flourished; and that their descendants emigrated to Numidia, took it, and assimilated the conquered.[8]

From the passages in Herodotus and Sallust it appears that there was a tradition that in prehistoric times a race or races of conquerors had come from Europe and been fused with the aboriginal Libyans. Whether or not this be true, this much only seems certain—that one race, so far as there is any reasonable record or tradition, has within historic times always formed the bulk of the population of the sea-coast and the nearer hinterland

[4] Gsell, *Hist.* I. p. 356; Piquet, *Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord,* pp. 3 ff.

[5] IV. 197.

[6] *Jug.* 17-19.

[7] *Etymologiae,* IX. 115 ff.

[8] An interesting and plausible attempt to explain Sallust's story is given by Boissier, *Roman Africa* (tr.), pp. 3 ff.

of these regions and that the Numidians were a division of this race.[9]

The following picture, a mosaic made up of pieces gathered from sources differing widely in time, place, and value, while incomplete and showing features which never actually existed side by side, will help to give an idea of what manner of people the ancient Berbers were.[10]

They were lean and squalid.[11] There were blonds[12] as in modern times, but the population was for the most part dark.[13] They used ornaments of gold, plaited their hair, trimmed their beards, cleaned their teeth, and pared their finger nails.[14] They were very healthy and long-lived,[15] used little or no wine, and subsisted on the coarsest and most primitive food, mainly on grain or vegetables.[16] Their dwellings were stuffy huts and their couch the ground; their clothing was rough and meager, often merely the skins of beasts which served also for bedding.[17] The Numidians employed both cavalry and infantry in their warfare, and their cavalry was famous. The foot-soldiers carried shields, sometimes made from the hides of elephants, and the horsemen rode bare-back on small but hardy horses which were managed by a bridle of rushes or a light switch.[18] Their arms were the sword, the spear, and the dart; their method of attack was to ride up to the enemy, discharge a shower of missile weapons and then, when charged upon, to retreat. These tactics

[9] Pliny, *N.H.* v. 22.

[10] For a much fuller account of the *Moeurs des tribus libyennes* see Tissot, *Géographie,* I. pp. 471-527.

[11] Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* III. 2.

[12] Scylax (in *Geographi Graeci Minores,* ed. C. Müller, I. p. 88); Procopius, *B.V.* II. 13. 29.

[13] Claudian, *De Cons. Stil.* III. 19.
Corippus, *Johannid,* I. 245-246; II. 137; IV. 321; VII. 416 & 482.
Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae,* XIV. 5. 10.
Juvenal, V. 53; XI. 125.
Manilius, IV. 726-730.
Nemesianus, *Cynegetica,* 261.
Silius Italicus, II. 439; VIII. 267.

[14] Strabo, XVII. 3. 7.

[15] Herodotus, IV. 187; Appian, *Pun.* 71; 106; Sallust, *Jug.* 17. 6.

[16] Appian, *Pun.* 71; Procopius, *B.V.* II. 6. 10-15.

[17] Corippus, *Johannid,* II. 130-137; Procopius, *B.V.* II. 6. 10-15; Strabo, XVII. 3. 7.

[18] Lucan, IV. 682; Strabo, XVII. 3. 7.

were repeated to the great annoyance of their foes and proved especially effective when the latter, as was often the case, were unacquainted with the terrain.[19]

In later times these people were noted for their perfidy and could be governed only by the threat or application of force.[20] They were superstitious and consulted oracles which were uttered entirely by women.[21] Women were treated as servants and were often taken along on the campaigns to tend the animals, take charge of the food, and perform other menial tasks about the camp.[22] Polygamy was practiced and large harems were kept, at least among the upper classes.[23]

The ancient Libyans, like the Berbers of today, were divided into nations and tribes which, though differing in many respects, were essentially the same. The more important nations were the *Maurousioi,* or Moors, and the Numidians. The best known tribes of the Numidians were the *Masylies* and the *Masaesylies.*[24]

Such were the people who formed the base of the population of Hippo Regius and the adjacent territory. Upon them came the colonists, invaders, and conquerors who accomplished many changes in economic conditions, in government, and in religion and who erected imposing monuments. Many of the monuments still stand to bear witness to the genius and power of their builders but the native population remains much the same as it was in the earliest times.

The later-comers were successively the Phenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, and the Arabs. An ethnological account of these peoples, or nations, is unnecessary.

In addition to the races mentioned above there were even in classical times a certain number of Greeks in North Africa. Although the Greek sphere properly speaking did not extend

[19] Appian, *Hispan.* 25; Corippus, *Johannid,* II. 114-115; 130-135; Strabo, XVII. 3. 7.

[20] Corippus, *Johannid,* IV. 447-451; Procopius, *B.V.* II. 8. 9-12; 13. 18 ff.; 25; 26.

[21] Procopius, *B.V.* II. 8. 12 ff. cf. Tacitus, *Germania,* 8; Caesar, *B.G.* I. 50. 4.

[22] Procopius, *B.V.* II. 11. 18.

[23] Procopius, *B.V.* II. 11, 13. Herodotus (Book IV. 145 ff.) relates many strange stories about the position of women and the marriage customs of the various Libyan tribes.

[24] Strabo, II. 5. 33.

west of *Cyrenaïca*, even in the western, or Punic, districts the all-pervading influence of Hellenism was felt, and some account must be taken of the Greeks as a factor in the development of North Africa.[25] In conclusion mention should be made of the negroes and Jews[26] who seem to have been present in these regions from early times. They were without appreciable influence on the course of events.

[25] W. Thieling, *Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika.*

[26] Gsell, *Hist.* I. pp. 302 ff.; 280-281. See Monceaux, *Revue des études juives*, XLIV, 1902, pp. 1-28, and Aug. *Serm.* 196. 4; that is if the reading, "Duo genera hominum *hic sunt*, Christiani et Judaei," be correct. If the correct reading be *hic sint*, the passage is irrelevant. *Sunt*, however, is the preferred reading; cf. also *Serm.* 9. 3.

LANGUAGE

As far as may be learned from the extant data the only languages which were of importance in North Africa prior to the introduction of Arabic were Libyan, Phenician, Greek, and Latin. Greek and Latin are, of course, closely related members of the Indo-European language-group; Phenician belongs to the Semitic group; and Libyan, or Berber, to the Hamitic. The Semitic and Hamitic groups are closely related; indeed Ethiopian is assigned to the first by some philologists and to the second by others.[1]

Little evidence and no statistics are available concerning the languages spoken at *Hippo Regius*, but some information of this kind does exist for *North Africa* and inferences drawn from it, if applied with certain qualifications, may be regarded as representing the conditions which obtained at Hippo Regius. The most important qualification is that linguistic change is quicker in commercial centers than in the country and, accordingly, a new language, introduced by merchants or soldiers, in time may well have supplanted the native idiom in the towns and cities while the older language continued to be spoken in the country districts.

The Libyans spoke a language which was distinct from Phenician[2] and which was harsh and barbarous,[3] having sounds which could be pronounced properly only by those who spoke it as their mother-tongue.[4] Our meager knowledge of it is derived from inscriptions,[5] from a study of the names of places and of people, and from modern Berber. In the later years of the Em-

[1] For a digest of these matters see *Encylopedia Britannica*, XII. p. 894; XXIV. p. 629.

[2] Compare, for example, the Libyan and the Punic inscriptions. For a fuller account of "La Langue Libyque," see Gsell, *Hist.* I. pp. 309-326.

[3] Corippus, *Johannid*, II. 27; IV. 351-352; Silius Italicus, III. 305.

[4] Pliny, *N.H.* V. 1. At this point it may not be amiss to call attention to a statement made by Mommsen (*Römische Geschichte*, Fünfter Band, Zweite Auflage, 1885, pp. 640-641) that "In Hinsicht der Sprache---- sicher kein Römer dieses Volksidiom (i.e. Libyan) verstand." This statement obviously cannot be proved and is very improbable.

[5] Faidherbe, *Collection complète des inscriptions numidiques* (1870),

pire very many of the *barbarae gentes* of North Africa spoke this language which was essentially one[6] although it was divided into different dialects.[7]

This native speech was used at the time of the Punic Wars,[8] during several centuries around the turn of our era,[9] in the time of St. Augustine,[10] and in that of Ibn Khaldoun.[11] It is still used at the present day.[12] It was and is the language of the lower and less literate classes. Little literature of any importance has been written in it, and most of this has perished.[13]

In view of these facts it is safe to state that Libyan was spoken at Hippo Regius from the earliest times until after the beginning of the Christian era. This statement is strengthened by the fact that a large number of the inscriptions published by General Faidherbe were found in the region of Bona.[14] For the later years of the Roman occupation we cannot be so sure; indeed, the silence of St. Augustine concerning *Libyan* and his specific mention of *Punic,* when speaking of the attainments necessary or desirable for a priest who was to serve in a not distant place, make it probable that, when the Roman power was at its height, Libyan was no longer spoken in the towns.[15] But that it was still spoken in the more remote

has collected and published nearly 200. See also, *inter alia, Revue Africaine,* XVII. pp. 62-65. They have remained undecipherable except for the word *ou* and proper names (Gsell, *Hist.* I. p. 310).

[6] Aug. *D.C.D.* XVI. 6.

[7] Corippus, *Johannid,* IV. 351-352.

[8] Silius Italicus, III. 305.

[9] Faidherbe, *Inscriptions numidiques,* pp. 11 ff. (i.e. the evidence is direct if his dating is correct, otherwise merely inferential); Athenaeus, III. 25. 83 b.

[10] Aug. *D.C.D.* XVI. 6.

[11] Ibn Khaldoun, *Prolégomènes* (tr. de Slane), III. p. 358, "Sur le continent africain----les Berbères forment la masse de la population, et leur langue est celle de toutes parties du pays, à l'exception des grandes villes, aussi la langue arabe s'y trouve submergée sous les flottes de cet idiome barbare, de ce jargon par les Berbères."

[12] Gsell, *Hist.* I. p. 309.

[13] Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères,* pp. 61 ff.

[14] Faidherbe, *Inscriptions numidiques,* p. 10.

[15] Aug. *Epist.* 209. 3. Faidherbe (*Inscriptions numidiques,* p. 12) says that St. Augustine means Libyan not Punic. General Faidherbe's argument is not convincing on this point. See also Aug. *Serm.* 288. 3, where he speaks of Greek, Latin, Punic and Hebrew. If Libyan had been familiar to his hearers it is very probable that he would have mentioned it.

districts seems to be attested by the numbers and distribution of those who today speak Berber and by St. Augustine himself.[16]

Hippo Regius was founded by the Phenicians or the Carthaginians and from this fact we should infer that in early times the speech of the official and upper classes was Punic. Indeed, in the towns of North Africa in general, Punic probably supplanted to a certain extent the language of the aborigines, although, as has been stated above, Libyan continued in use for several hundred years. Greek probably came into use to some extent as the language of culture[17] even in the Carthaginian period, but Punic continued to be used in the homes even of the better classes as late as the second century of our era.[18] It was used on North African coins until the time of Tiberius, after which it was superseded by Latin on the coins and for official purposes,[19] although it could be used for legal documents as late as the third century.[20]

In the time of St. Augustine Punic was widely spoken[21] but was not universally understood in the town.[22] It was still spoken in the sixth century,[23] but is believed by Mommsen to have become obsolete at or before the coming of the Saracens.[24]

[16] *D.C.D.* XVI. 6. Some of these *barbarae gentes* doubtless dwelt in the province of Numidia.

[17] Cicero, *Tusc.* III. 54. This passage points to the use of Greek among the Carthaginians if the book which Cicero read (presumably in Greek) was the original, not a translation. Varro, *De Re Rust.* I. 1. 10 (if Dionysius was a native); however, it is noteworthy that Mago wrote in *Punic.* Nepos, *Hannibal,* 13. 2; "namque aliquot eius (i.e. Hannibalis) libri sunt, Graeco sermone confecti---."

[18] Apuleius, *Apol.* 98; Statius, *Silv.* IV. 5. 45; *Vita Septimi Severi,* Chs. 1 & 15; Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus,* 20. 8.

[19] Mommsen, *R.G.* V. pp. 642-643, especially note 1; Gsell, *Hist.* I. p. 332; Muller, *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique,* III. p. 124. no. 107. For the period from 202-46 B.C. *ibid.* III. pp. 7-51; 88-102; Supplement, 60-65.

[20] Ulpian, *Fideicomm.* II (*Digest.* 32. 11).

[21] Aug. *Epist.* 209. 3; *Epistolae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio,* 13; *De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum,* 87; *Epist.* 84. 2; 66. 2; *Enarrat. in Psalm.* 123. 8. The Circumcellions communicated with outsiders *per punicum interpretem* (*Epist.* 108. 14); and the Donatists used only Latin and Punic of which the latter was apparently widely spoken (*Epist. Ioh. ad Parth. Tract.* II. 3).

[22] Aug. *Serm.* 167. 4.

[23] Procopius, *B.V.* II. 10. 20

[24] *R.G.* V. p. 643.

From the sketch given above we should conclude that Punic was spoken at Hippo Regius from very early times until the seventh century; in the earlier period by the upper classes, and in the later periods by the lower classes in the city and by some of the rural population—probably by the majority.

There is practically no direct evidence[25] for the use of Greek in Hippo Regius; but, as there is no evidence to the contrary, we may believe that the conditions which obtained in the neighboring towns and cities represent the conditions in this city also.

Greek influence appears to have made itself felt in North Africa from an early period and the Greek language may have been used by a few natives even in the Carthaginian period, although its use did not become at all general until later.[26]

The Greek influence was strong at the courts of several of the native kings under the early Empire. This was especially the case at the court of Juba II who wrote many books and treatises in that tongue and who surrounded himself with Greek art and artists.[27]

In the second century Greek was taught in the schools and, as the language of culture, was known and used by the educated and by scholars.[28] In the fourth and still in the sixth century, although it was a *lingua peregrina*, it was taught in the schools and seems to have been understood to a certain extent.[29] In Byzantine times it was on a level with Latin as an official language, but was probably understood little, if at all, by the natives.[30]

[25] See Gsell, *Inscriptions*, I. nos. 28 & 29

[26] Cicero, *Acad. Priora*, II. 98; Justinus, XX. 5. 10-13; Livy, *Epit.* L; Stephanus Byzantinus, Καρχηδών; Gsell, *Hist.* IV. pp. 192-193; Thieling, *Hellenismus*, pp. 23-25.

[27] Thieling, *Hellenismus*, pp. 19 ff.; Athenaeus, VIII. 343E; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, III. pp. 465 ff. The coins of this king were for the most part Latin, but there are numerous examples of Greek, or Greco-Latin coins (Muller, *Numismatique*, III. pp. 103-125).

[28] Apuleius, *Met.* I. 1; *Apol.* 10; 87; 98; *Florid.* (ed. Thomas, pub. Teubner, 1908) p. 5. Ch. 5, nos. 112-113; Fronto, *Epist. Graec.*; see also Leclerq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, I. pp. 91-93.

[29] Aug. *Conf.* I. 23; IX. 32; *Serm.* 288. 3; *Vita Fulgentii* (*P.L.* no 65. col. 119).

[30] Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa*, p. 115; Thieling, *Hellenismus*, p. 175.

To sum up; from Carthaginian to Byzantine times Greek was used in North Africa as it was in most of the Mediterranean World. For a considerable period around the turn of our era it was the language of culture. With the introduction of Latin it gradually went out of use so that by the end of the fourth century it had become merely a language taught in the schools and spoken by such Greeks as may have been resident in Hippo Regius and other similar towns or cities.

Latin was introduced into North Africa by the Roman conquerors; it came into general use probably at the time of the beginning of the Empire.[31] The history of its spread, the characteristics of its Latinity, and the wealth of its literature are so well known from the numerous inscriptions and the voluminous extant literature that a discussion of them here is unnecessary.[32]

This section on language may be concluded with a few words about the speech of the Vandals which Chadwick believes was practically identical with Gothic.[33] When the Vandals crossed the Straits, probably in 428 A.D., all the males numbered about 80,000.[34] They remained in Africa about one hundred years,[35] and their language, which they retained for some time,[36] was of course less developed than the Punic and Latin of the conquered. In view of these facts it is unlikely that the speech of the conquerors was learned or used by any large proportion of the provincials. It may, accordingly, be dismissed with this brief mention.

[31] Thieling, *Hellenismus,* p. 25.

[32] For a general discussion of this subject see Boissier, *Roman Africa,* Ch. 7, no. 4; Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa,* Ch. X. See also: Budinsky, *Die Ausbreitung der Lateinischen Sprache,* Ch. XIII; Sittl, *Die Lokalen Verschiedenheiten der Lateinischen Sprache,* III Teil. In recent years the view has gained wide acceptance that the peculiarities of African Latin are chronological rather than local.

[33] *Encyclopedia Britannica,* XXVI. p. 676; Procopius. *B.V.* I. 2. 5. A good account of the language of the Vandals is in Papencordt, *Geschichte der Vandalischen Herrschaft in Africa,* pp. 287-308. For a probable specimen of their speech see Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores,* IV. no. 439.

[34] Victor Vitensis, I. 2; Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders,* II. p. 231. note 2.

[35] Hodgkin, *op. cit.* II. Note E (pp. 290-296).

[36] Victor Vitensis, I. 18; II. 55.

NAME AND FOUNDATION

It is impossible to determine with certainty and exactness either the form and etymology of the name of Hippo Regius, or the date and circumstances of the foundation of the town. Two North African towns were named Hippo; one being known as Hippo Regius and the other as Hippo Diarrhytus.

The word "Hippo" is certainly Phenician,[1] but scholars are not agreed either as to its exact form in Semitic or as to its meaning.[2] "The origin of the epithet *Regius*----is unknown. It is possible that it may be the translation of a Punic word. One can suppose also (*C.I.L.* VIII. p. 516; Tissot *Géographie,* II. p. 98) that Hippo received this additional name intended to distinguish it from the other *Hippo,* because it became a part of the kingdom of Numidia after having been taken away from Carthage, while Bizerte remained a part of the Roman province of Africa until 146. It is not proved that it was the residence of the native rulers, as the epithet *Regius* seems to have led Strabo (xvii. 3. 13. οἱ δύο Ἵππωνες . . . ἄμφω βασίλεια) and Silius Italicus (III. 259. *antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo*) to think."[3]

[1] Tissot, *Géographie,* II. p. 90. The statement of Solinus (xxvii.7), "Hipponem Regium postea dictum, item Hipponem alterum de interfluenti freto Diarrhytum nuncupatum, nobilissima oppida, equites Graeci condiderunt," is clearly wrong and is obviously based on a false etymology of the word "Hippo."

[2] What is known of the Semitic form of Hippo and accordingly of its meaning and derivation rests on some Sidonian coins of the second century B.C. and on some African coins, attributed to Hippo Regius but not with certainty. Descriptions, facsimiles, decipherings, and discussions of the Sidonian coins, together with some of the proposed etymologies, are to be found, *inter alia,* in the following places: Movers, *Die Phönizier,* II. 2. pp. 132 ff.; A. Muller, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien), Philos.-histor. Classe XXXV. 1860, pp. 35 ff.; Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Rois de Syrie,* pp. cx & cxxii, nos. 689-690 & 788-789; *Perses achéménides,* p. clxxxvi, nos. 1619-1625; Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager,* I. pp. 467 ff. There is disagreement both as to the readings and as to the resulting etymologies. The African coins are treated by L. Muller, *Numismatique,* III. pp. 53-57, and Supplement, pp. 66 ff.

[3] Gsell, *Atlas,* Texte, IX. p. 6. The statement, sometimes implicitly made, that the epithet "regius" applied to a North African city indicates

The following adjectival forms of the name of the city occur: Hipponiensis,[4] Hipponensis,[5] Hipponienses (Hipponenses) regii,[6] Hipponeregienses,[7] Hipporegii.[8]

Hippo Regius was a Semitic colony. This conclusion is based on the following facts: its name is Semitic, it was situated in the Phenician sphere,[9] a typically Phenician wall has been discovered among its ruins,[10] Punic was spoken there for many centuries,[11] and finally it is known that there was a Phenician Hippo in North Africa. This last fact is attested by the Sidonian coins mentioned in note 2 of this section, and is corroborated by Sallust[12] and by Isidore of Seville, but as none of these sources adds an epithet to the name "Hippo," it is impossible to determine to which of the African Hippos they refer and, indeed, it is not necessary to suppose that they all refer to the same city. However, owing to the identity of the first part of the names of these two cities, it is an almost necessary assumption that they were both founded by the same race, that is, in this case, by either the Phenicians or the Carthaginians. But whether Hippo Regius was Phenician or Carthaginian cannot be determined on account of lack of evidence. If it was Phenician it was established between the twelfth and ninth centuries B.C., or possibly later, while if it was Carthaginian, its foundation must have been subsequent to the end of the ninth century, that is, if we accept the date of the founding of Carthage which Gsell believes most prob-

that the city belonged at some time to a native kingdom is entirely reasonable, but I fail to find positive evidence for it.

[4] *C.I.L.* VIII. no. 4894; IX. no. 1592; X. no. 5178 (if these inscriptions refer to H.R. not to H.D.); Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon,* anno 429 (*Chronica Minora,* Mommsen, II. p. 77).

[5] Aug. *D.C.D.* xxii. 8. 11; *Epist.* 22.9; Possidius, *Sancti Augustini Vita* (edited with revised text, introduction, notes, and an English version by H. T. Weiskotten), 6; 24; 28.

[6] *P.L.* no. 11. col. 1316; Aug. *Epist.* 29; 86; 213.

[7] Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio Conciliorum,* IV. 334; Hydatius, *Continuatio Chronicorum,* anno 412 (*Chronica Minora,* Mommsen, II. p. 18).

[8] Victor Vitensis, 1. 10.

[9] Mommsen, *R.G.* V. p. 623.

[10] Gsell, *Hist.* II. p. 150. That this wall is really Phenician has recently been questioned (*Bulletin de l'Académie d'Hippone,* no. 34. pp. 144-145).

[11] See the preceding section.

[12] Sallust, *Jug.* 19; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae,* xv. 1. 28.

able.[13] At all events, it is practically certain that it was founded before the end of the fourth century B.C.[14] Although these limits are very wide, it is more than doubtful if they can be narrowed.

As there is no reason to suppose that the history of Hippo Regius was essentially different from that of the other Semitic cities in North Africa, it is possible to suggest the broad outlines of its early history, although it is not possible to fill in these outlines with specific details.

In the earliest times Hippo Regius was a commercial post and later, when the loosely-connected Carthaginian Empire grew up, it became a member of this Empire.[15] During this period the lower classes were Libyan while the ruling classes were Punic.[16] The principal officers of government were two annually elected *suffetes*.[17]

Although one might go further and imagine that, as a member of the Carthaginian Empire, Hippo Regius took part in the great struggle with Rome and furnished ships and men, such an account, elaborated on the basis of inference and conjecture, while in keeping with all probability, would have no basis in actual evidence.

With the collapse of the Carthaginian power Hippo Regius became first a part of the kingdom of Masinissa and later a part of the Roman Empire.[18]

[13] Gsell, *Hist.* I. pp. 371 ff. It has been suggested by Umbenstock (*Bulletin de l'Académie d'Hippone,* 1914-1921, pp. 76 ff.) that Hippo Regius was an Egypto-Phenician rather than a purely Phenician foundation.

[14] See below, Section 12.

[15] Gsell, *Hist.* I. p. 460.

[16] See above, Section 3.

[17] Gsell, *Hist.* II. pp. 193 ff.

[18] Pliny, *N. H.* v. 22. See, however, Tauxier, *Itinéraire de Rusicade à Hippone* (*Bulletin de l'Académie d'Hippone,* 1870, pp. 49-52).

PROVINCIAL STATUS

From the beginning of North African history until the overthrow of the Byzantine power in Africa by the Arabs, the history of Hippo Regius as a member of a larger political unit falls into five periods. During the first, or Carthaginian period, Hippo, as has been shown in the preceding section, almost certainly belonged to the Carthaginian Empire. During the second period it belonged to a native kingdom; during the third to a provincial division of the Roman Empire; and during the fourth to the kingdom of the Vandals. The fifth and last period was the Byzantine.

Hippo was situated in that portion of North Africa which is generally known as Numidia and, although but little is specifically known about the relations of Hippo to the successive governments of this region, it must necessarily have been affected by them. To attempt, however, to treat at all fully the various changes in the government of the larger units to which Hippo belonged, or to give an account of their rulers—Carthaginian merchant-princes, Berber kings, Roman civil and military officers, Vandal kings, and Byzantine officials—would far exceed the proper limits of this section and would lead too far afield from the history of the city itself.

The relations of Hippo to Carthage during the first period have already been suggested.[1] It remains, therefore, to sketch very briefly the history of Numidia from the dissolution of the Carthaginian power to the end of the Byzantine rule in Africa.

During the Berber period its government doubtless offered no features of particular interest. If we could be sure that the epithet *Regius*[2] proves that a royal residence existed there during this period, this fact would be of interest; but, while the existence of a royal residence at Hippo is by no means improbable, little reliance can be placed upon any conclusions drawn from the use of the epithet.

At the end of the third Punic War, Numidia fell to Masinissa[3]

[1] See the preceding section.

[2] Silius Italicus, III. 259.

[3] Appian, *Pun.* 106; Pliny, *N.H.* v. 22.

and apparently continued in the hands of his successors until the Jugurthine War.[4] At the time of the Civil Wars it was under Juba.[5]

In 46 B.C. Caesar made it a province under Sallust as proconsul.[6] During the years that followed it experienced many vicissitudes.[7] Later it was returned to Juba II, but, after he had enjoyed his paternal domains for a short time, he was forced to exchange them for Mauretania and thereupon Numidia became and for approximately four centuries remained a part of the Roman Empire.[8]

The provincial history of Numidia under the Roman rule is very complex and will be passed over inasmuch as it is of no vital importance for the history of Hippo Regius. It will be of interest, however, to mention two inscriptions which perhaps furnish some indication of the importance of Hippo in Imperial times. In regard to them Gsell says:[9] "Two inscriptions from the time of Septimius Severus mention *Legati provinciae Africae regionis Hipponiensis* (*C.I.L.* X. 5178) or *dioeceseos Hipponiensis* (*C.I.L.* IX. 1592) ---------- ----------. In spite of the opinion to the contrary expressed in the *C.I.L.* VIII. p. 516 (cf. Mommsen, *Ephemeris Epigraphica,* I. p. 133) we should conclude that the diocese of Hippo got its name from Hippo Regius and not from Hippo Diarrhytus." Unfortunately it seems that little of interest in regard to the city itself can be inferred from these inscriptions.

In the third decade of the fifth century Numidia came under the power of the Vandals and remained under Germanic rule for approximately a century.[10]

The final stage of the provincial history of Numidia and consequently of Hippo Regius is the Byzantine. North Africa was recovered for the Empire in the sixth century and Numidia became a province under a *praeses*.[11] By the middle of the next

[4] Sallust, *Jug.* 19.

[5] Caesar, *B.C.* II. 25; see also the *index nominum* in the Teubner edition of Caesar's Works, under *Juba.*

[6] Appian, *B.C.* II. 100; Hirtius, *B. Afr.* 97; Dio, XLIII. 9.

[7] For a documented account of this period see Smith, *Dict. of Geog.* I. pp. 69-72.

[8] Dio, LI. 15; Strabo, XVII. 3. 7; 3. 12.

[9] *Atlas,* Texte, IX. p. 6.

[10] See Section 12; Victor Vitensis, I. 13; also Papencordt, *Geschichte.*

[11] Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum,* II. p. 155.

century all of North Africa had been thrown into confusion owing to the decaying power of the Empire and the oncoming hordes of Islam.

Although the foregoing account is very brief it is, perhaps, adequate, inasmuch as it is the purpose of this section merely to suggest the relations which Hippo Regius, as a city of Numidia, bore to those larger political units to which it successively belonged.

MUNICIPAL STATUS AND GOVERNMENT

In dealing with the municipal history of Hippo Regius one should determine, as far as possible, the status of this city at different periods and should record any special features of its administration which could not reasonably be inferred from the determination of its status.

The probable course of its history under the Carthaginian rule has already been suggested.[1] We must now trace, as far as the data will permit, its development under Roman government. Hippo Regius is several times mentioned by ancient authors as an *oppidum*[2] and several times as a *civitas*,[3] but no inferences as to its municipal status may be drawn from these references.

The following account will show that it was at one period a *municipium* and at a later period a *colonia*, but it is impossible to determine precisely the periods at which it received these privileges. Either as a *municipium* or as a *colonia* its government was doubtless of the general type described by Arnold-Bouchier,[4] and indeed specific evidence is not lacking for the existence at Hippo Regius of many of the local officials typical of Roman provincial cities. It had its *aediles*,[5] *flamines augustales*,[6] *duumviri*,[7] *duumviri quinquennales*,[8] *curiales*,[9] and *decuriones*.[10]

[1] See above, Section 5.

[2] Pliny, *N.H.* v. 22; Honorius (*Geographi Latini Minores*, ed. Riese, p. 47); *Cosmographia* (*ibid.* p. 89).

[3] The Geographer of Ravenna (in *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. Pinder & Parthey, pp. 148 & 347); Guido (*ibid.* p. 518).

[4] *Roman Provincial Administration*, pp. 236 ff.

[5] Gsell, *Inscriptions*, no. 10.

[6] *ibid.* nos. 11; 95-96.

[7] *ibid.* nos. 10; 11; 95-96.

[8] *ibid.* no. 10.

[9] Symmachus, *Epist.* IX. 51 (?).

[10] Gsell, *Inscriptions*, nos. 7; 13 (?); 82; 132; *C.I.L.* XIV. no. 303. From no. 132 we should conclude that the local senate of Hippo Regius consisted of 50 rather than the usual 100 members. For mention of another local municipal (?) officer see Aug. *Epist.* 222. 1.

The evidence that Hippo Regius was at one time a *municipium* consists of the inscriptions cited in notes 5-10 and also number 109 in Gsell's *Inscriptions* which reads as follows: MUNIC. AUG HIPP. REG. From this last inscription we should conclude that Hippo Regius was made a *municipium* by Augustus.[11]

Ancient writers mention Hippo Regius as a *colonia* certainly twice and possibly three times. Pliny states that between the *Amsaga flumen* and *Cyrenaïca* there were six colonies.[12] These six colonies were Cirta, Sicca, Carthage, Maxula, Uthina, and Tuburbi.[13] It is evident from this that Hippo Regius was not a *colonia* in the time of Pliny the Elder. Zumpt argues that it had not yet attained this rank in the time of Trajan, but his arguments are not entirely convincing.[14]

The data from which it appears that Hippo Regius was a *colonia* are as follows:

In the first place, Ptolemy mentions an Aphrodisium and then Hippo Regius. In the text the word *colonia* goes with the name of the former city but Müller has no doubt that it belongs not with Aphrodisium but with Hippo Regius.[15] If he is right, Hippo Regius had become a *colonia* by the time of the Antonines.

In the second place, the *Itinerarium Antonini* mentions Hippo Regius six times, once adding the word *colonia*.[16]

In the third place, St. Augustine says: "Memorati memoriam martyris, quae posita est in Castello Sinitensi, quod Hipponensi coloniae vicinum est, eiusdem loci Lucillus episcopus, populo praecedente atque sequente, portabat."[17] Although we cannot determine with certainty whether the place referred to as *Hipponensis colonia* is Hippo Regius or Hippo Diarrhytus, it is somewhat more likely from the context that the reference is

[11] See also Barthel, *Zur Geschichte der römischen Städte in Africa*, p. 24. It is just possible that a colony of veterans was established at Hippo Regius (Gsell, *Inscriptions*, I. nos. 31 & 32).

[12] *N.H.* v. 29.

[13] *ibid.* v. 22-29.

[14] *Commentationes Epigraphicae*, I. p. 424; cf. p. 407.

[15] *Geographia*, ed. Müller, IV. 3. 2.

[16] ed. Parthey & Pinder, pp. 3; 18; 19(ter); 8 (*colonia*).

[17] *D.C.D.* XXII. 8. 11.

to the latter than that it is to the former. If this supposition be correct, the passage is not relevant.

Finally, St. Augustine says also: "Si enim miracula sanitatum, ut alia taceam, ea tantummodo velim scribere, quae per hunc martyrem, id est gloriosissimum Stephanum, facta sunt in colonia Calamensi et in nostra, plurimi conficiendi sunt libri, ----."[18] Although it is possible to supply a *civitate* and construe *nostra* with it, a far more natural and more reasonable interpretation is to construe *nostra* with the preceding *colonia*. If the second interpretation is accepted, it follows that Hippo Regius was a *colonia* in the first part of the fifth century after Christ.

To recapitulate: it is almost certain that Hippo Regius was a *colonia* and it is probable that it received this rank between the time of Trajan and that of the Antonines, and that it retained this status until the Vandal invasion.

The last point to be mentioned in connection with the municipal status of this city is that in all probability it belonged to the *Tribus Quirina*.[19]

A few special facts of interest are known in regard to the local government. From one inscription which has survived we learn that during the Byzantine period a Roman garrison was stationed in this city.[20] From another inscription Gsell concludes that the Roman soldier, whose epitaph it forms, had been charged with police duty in the city. He was a member of the garrison at Rome.[21] Finally, we learn from St. Augustine that in his time there was in existence a sort of constabulary.[22]

[18] *D.C.D.* XXII. 8.20; cf. Martianus Capella, VI. 669 (?).
[19] Gsell, *Inscriptions*, I. nos. 10 & 1378.
[20] *ibid.* no. 81.
[21] *ibid.* no. 30.
[22] *Epist.* 115.

TERRITORIUM AND IMPERIAL DOMAINS

What little is known about the *territorium* of Hippo Regius can, perhaps, best be given as a paraphrase of the account in Mesnage's *L'Afrique chrétienne*.[1] The *territorium* of this commune was very large. Its limit toward the north-west is indicated by a boundary stone found near the river Ouider at a distance of about seventeen miles from Hippo as the crow flies;[2] this was the limit on the side of the *territorium* of Cirta. To the east, on the side of Thabarca, the boundary is indicated by a stone found at Mechta el Agareb which is about twenty-five miles in a straight line from Hippo Regius.[3] To the south-west, the *territorium* of Hippo doubtless did not extend beyond the pass of Fedjoudje which is the same distance from the city and near to which a boundary stone, placed by the people of Calama has been discovered.[4] We should probably conclude from an inscription found at Ascours that this place also belonged to the commune.[5] Toward the south-east, the *territorium* seems to have extended much farther. It is, perhaps, on this side that one should place the *castellum Fussala* which was *Hipponensi territorio confine* and is mentioned by St. Augustine in his two hundred and ninth epistle, where he says that it was about forty miles from Hippo.[6]

So far Mesnage. A glance at the map at the end of the first volume of Gsell's *Inscriptions latines de L'Algérie* will show that the *territorium* of Hippo Regius was, roughly speaking, about forty miles square;[7] that the Seybouse, which flows almost due north in its lower reaches, practically bisected it; and that about half of the mountain-mass known as the "Edough" and all or almost all of Lake Fetzara lay within it.

There is apparently record of only one imperial domain in the *territorium* of Hippo Regius. The record consists of two

[1] pp. 265-266.
[2] Gsell, *Inscriptions*, I. no. 134.
[3] *Comptes rendus de l'Académie d'Hippone*, 1897, p. lv.
[4] Gsell, *Inscriptions*, I. no. 3877.
[5] *ibid.* no. 132.
[6] See also Aug. *D.C.D.* XXII. 8.
[7] With the south-eastern corner somewhat extended.

inscriptions[8] in honor of one Titus Flavius Macer who was, among other things, intendent *praediorum saltuum (Hip) poniensis et Thevestini.* Gsell says in a note to the second of these inscriptions: "One sees in these two texts, cut a few years after the death of Trajan, that the word *saltus* designates not a *grand domaine* but a *circonscription domaniale.*"[9]

[8] Gsell, *Inscriptions,* I. nos. 285 & 3992.

[9] From no. 3992 it appears that there was a corporation of *conductores* in Hippo in the second century.

Mesnage, in *L'Afrique chrétienne*,[1] says: "In numerous places in his works St. Augustine tells us of a certain number of localities situated in his diocese and some of these possessed churches or oratories----." His list, with references, is in brief as follows:

1. AUDURUS, *fundus, D.C.D.* xxii.8.15. There was a church there containing a relic of St. Stephen.
2. CARRARIA, perhaps a suburb, or a section of Hippo, *Serm.* 356.10.
3. CASPALIANA, *possessio,* near Audurus, *D.C.D.*xxii.8.16.
4. CIZAN, *Epist.*63.4.
5. FUSSALA, which became a bishopric toward 410, *Epist.* 209; 224. An oratory, situated on a private domain of the name of Zubedi of which we have spoken above, contained earth from the Holy Sepulchre, *D.C.D.*xxii.8.6.
6. GERMANICIANA, *Epist.* 251----.
7. GIPPI, *Epist.* 65.1.
8. HASNA, *Epist.*29.12. There was a church in that place.
9. MAPPALIA, imperial domain (?),----*Epist.*66; *Contra Litt. Petiliani,* ii.83.184(?); ii.99.228(?).
10. SPANIANUM, *praedium, Epist.*35.2.
11. STRABONIANENSIS, *fundus, Epist.*65.
12. SUBSANA, *Epist.*62;63.
13. THIAVA,----*Epist.*83.1; Possidius, *Vita,* 30.
14. TULLIENSE, *municip.* which later became a bishopric, *De Cura Gerenda pro Mortuis,* 15; Mansi, *Collectio,* VIII.647.
15. TURRES, *Epist.* 63.4. (see, however, *Epist.* 34.6.)
16. URGI, *Epist.* 105.3.
17. VERBALIS, *Epist.*63.4.
18. VICTORIANA, *villa,* thirty miles from Hippo, *D.C.D.*xxii.8.7; *Epist.* 105.3; but cf. *Serm.* 356.15----.

A few remarks upon this list are needed. In the first place, the references do not always prove in a satisfactory manner that the places referred to belonged to the diocese of Hippo Regius—in fact in the cases of Audurus, Caspaliana, Hasna, Thiava, Urgi, and Victoriana the references seem to prove either nothing in regard to their diocesan status or even the contrary of that which Mesnage apparently thinks they prove. In the sec-

[1] pp. 266-267. Where a reference is given by title only in this list the author is St. Augustine.

ond place, so few of the places named in this list can be definitely located, that it is impossible to define the limits of the diocese, although some indication of its extent may, perhaps, be furnished by the fact that at one time Fussala belonged to it.

Although the diocese of Hippo Regius may be reasonably conjectured to have been practically coterminous with the *territorium* of the city, the preceding list and remarks apparently comprise all that is known or may be reasonably conjectured about the extent of this diocese. It belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Numidia.[2]

[2] Possidius, *Vita*, 8.

BISHOPS

The names of nine of the bishops of Hippo Regius have escaped oblivion, but, with the exception of St. Augustine, little is known about them. Mesnage has made a list of their names and has included in his list most of the references which are pertinent.[1]

The first of these bishops was Theogenes. It is well authenticated that he was bishop of Hippo Regius; that he attended the Council of Carthage in 256; and that, when he was asked for his judgment *de haereticis baptizandis,* he replied: "Secundum Sacramentum Dei gratiae coelestis, quod accepimus, unum baptisma, quod est in Ecclesia Sancta, credimus."[2] More than this is not known about him, although there is a tradition that he was martyred with thirty-six others under Valerian in 259.[3]

The second bishop of Hippo, of whom there is record, was Leontius. He founded a church in which St. Augustine afterward preached.[4] He was probably martyred in 303 A.D.[5]

The bishop Fidentius was the first of the "Twenty Martyrs." A church was dedicated to them at Hippo Regius and was reputed to have wrought at least one signal miracle.[6] The story of certain of the martyrs of Hippo, probably the "Twenty," is briefly as follows: They were ordered to sacrifice, they refused, they were thrown into prison, and finally they received the crown of confessors and martyrs.[7]

[1] *L'Afrique chrétienne,* pp. 263-264. A list of the later (titular) bishops of Hippo Regius may be found in Morcelli, *Africa Christiana,* I. pp. 184-185.

[2] *Sententiae Episcoporum LXXXVII de Haereticis Baptizandis,* no. 15 (*P.L.* no. 3. col. 1100); Aug. *De Baptismo contra Donatistas,* VI. 36; Mansi, *Collectio,* I .977. no. 18. He is mentioned by St. Augustine in *Serm.* 273. 7.

[3] See Ruinart, *Acta Sincera,* pp. 223 ff.; and in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum, 26 January* (III. pp. 323 ff.).

[4] Aug. *Epist.* 29; *Serm.* 262. 2.

[5] Monceaux, *Hist. Litt.* III. pp. 152-153.

[6] Aug. *Serm.* 325. 1; *D.C.D.* XXII. 8. 9.

[7] Aug. *Serm.* 326.2. The martyrdom of the "Twenty" was probably in 304 A.D. (Monceaux, *Hist. Litt.* III. p. 153).

Faustinus was the first Donatist bishop of Hippo of whom we hear. All that is known about him is that he forbade the bakers of his city to bake for Catholics and that in the time of St. Augustine there were still people who remembered him.[8]

Concerning Valerius, the immediate predecessor of St. Augustine considerably more is known. Our information is derived almost entirely from Possidius,[9] whose account sheds much light on the democratic and tumultuous method of choosing the clergy at that time and place. This account may be summarized as follows: Valerius, the Catholic bishop of Hippo, on account of his increasing ecclesiastical duties exhorted his flock to provide and ordain a presbyter for the city and they, already acquainted with the life and teaching of the holy Augustine, unexpectedly and forcibly dragged him before Valerius and compelled him to be ordained although it was against his will.

Valerius, recognizing both the ability of Augustine as a preacher and his own limitations, inasmuch as he was a Greek by birth and less versed in the Latin language and literature, gave his presbyter the right of preaching the Gospel in his presence in the church and very frequently of holding public discussions—contrary to the practice and custom of the African churches. This act of Valerius led some bishops to find fault with him but he, knowing well that this was the practice of the Eastern churches and considering only the welfare of the Church, took no notice of the words of his detractors if only his presbyter might do that which he saw could not be accomplished by himself as bishop.

As Augustine's fame and popularity increased, Valerius feared—and apparently with good reason—that his presbyter would be sought to fill a bishopric elsewhere and accordingly communicated secretly with his Primate, the Bishop of Carthage, and, mentioning the weakness of his body and the burden of his years, sought to have Augustine ordained Bishop of Hippo because he would not in that case then succeed to his office but would be associated with him as coadjutor-bishop. Valerius obtained a satisfactory answer to this request. Later when Megalius, Bishop of Calama, and at that time Primate of Numida, had come at his request to visit the Church at

[8] Aug. *Contra Litt. Petiliani*, II. 184.

[9] *Vita*, 4; 5; 8. Cf. also Aug. *Epist.* 31. 4; 33. 4.

Hippo, unexpectedly to all, he made his desire known to the bishops who happened at that time to be present, and to all the clergy of Hippo and to all the people with the result that Augustine was then made Coadjutor-bishop of Hippo.

We know also from one of St. Augustine's sermons that it was Valerius who gave him "hortum illum in quo nunc est monasterium."[10]

From these few facts which are known about Valerius it is evident that he was not insistent on his own position and prestige but simply anxious for the good of the Church, moreover that it was his own church of which he thought primarily and for whose advantage he exercised a very timely prudence. From the fact that he was "old and infirm" when Augustine was chosen bishop in 395 we should probably infer that he died not long afterwards.[11]

Valerius' successor was, of course, St. Augustine. So much has been written about him that it is unnecessary to give here an account of his life.

The second Donatist bishop of whom there is record was Proculeianus.[12] We hear of an appeal to him. It was made by St. Augustine and was that they, as the representatives of the Catholics and Donatists, should try to come to some agreement in order that the Church might have peace. This was made before the death of Valerius.[13] He is mentioned also in a letter of the clergy of Hippo to Januarius.[14]

The last of the Donatist bishops of Hippo of whom we hear was Macrobius. Although he is mentioned several times in the works of St. Augustine, little of interest is known about him. According to the editor of the *Patrologia Latina* No. 33 he was "undoubtedly ordained *in locum Proculeiani*" who was still alive in 403 A.D.[15] Although St. Augustine addressed a long letter to

[10] *Serm.* 355. 2; cf. also *Serm. de Rusticiano.*

[11] Prosper, *Epitoma,* anno 395; Cassiodorus, *Chronica,* no. 1160 (*Chronica Minora,* Mommsen, II. p. 154). For a contemporary estimate of his character see Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* 7. 2.

[12] Aug. *Epist.* 35.

[13] Aug. *Epist.* 33. See also *Epist.* 34; 35; *Contra Cresconium,* III. 48. 53.

[14] Aug. *Epist.* 88. 6-7. For a somewhat fuller account of this bishop see Smith & Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography.*

[15] *P.L.* no. 33. col. 405. note d; St. Augustine wrote to Macrobius two

him, the contents of this letter are of interest for a study of Donatism rather than for a study which deals primarily with the history of Hippo Regius.

Heraclius, the successor of St. Augustine, was the last bishop of Hippo Regius in antiquity about whom we know. An account of his election in 426 A.D. has come down to us and a translation of it is given in a note to this chapter because it is of considerable interest as an important source of our information about Heraclius and because from it can be gained some idea of the procedure of the Church of that time and place in such matters.

If with the editor of the *Patrologia Latina* No. 39, we identify this Heraclius (or Eraclius) with the Eraclius *diaconus* mentioned by St. Augustine in *Sermo* 356, Section 7, we may conclude that St. Augustine's successor was religious from his youth, was humane—for he freed his slaves—and that it was his desire to give his goods to the Church. A reading of this passage may also lead us to applaud the piety of the heir and the wisdom of the bishop, but it will diminish our opinion of Heraclius' business ability.

It was Heraclius who brought about the debate between St. Augustine and the Arian bishop, Maximinus.[16]

letters, nos. 106 & 108. This Donatist bishop is mentioned also in letters nos. 107 & 139; and in a sermon attributed to St. Augustine (*P.L.* no. 43. col. 755). See also Mansi *Collectio*, IV. 123. no. 138. See also article in Smith & Wace, *Dictionary*.

[16] *Coll. cum Max.* For a sermon by Heraclius see *P.L.* no. 39. col. 1717. Cf. also Smith & Wace, *Dictionary*, under *Eraclius* and under *Maximinus*.

NOTE A. THE ELECTION OF HERACLIUS

Among Augustine's letters in the *Patrologia Latina* is: *Acta Ecclesiastica seu Epistola ccxiii.* The heading is: *Ecclesiastica Gesta a B. Augustino confecta in designando ERACLIO qui ipsi in episcopatu succederet, atque interim senem aliqua parte curarum sublevaret.*

The account itself may be translated as follows:

When the most glorious Theodosius was consul for the twelfth time and Valentinian Augustus was consul for the second time, on the twenty-sixth of September,[1] after the bishop Augustine, together with Religianus and Martinianus his fellow bishops, had met in the Hippo-regian church of "Peace" in company with the priests Saturninus, Leporius, Barnabus, Fortunatianus, Rusticus, Lazarus, and Eraclius, in the presence of the clergy and many people, the bishop Augustine said:

"Dearly beloved, we must accomplish without any delay that which I promised to you yesterday and on account of which I desired you to assemble yourselves together in greater numbers—and I see that you have come together in greater numbers. Indeed you are less attentive for anything else I might wish to say to you because you are intent on that.

"We are all mortal in this life and the last day of this life is always uncertain for every man; but yet in infancy childhood is expected, and in childhood adolescence is expected, and in adolescence youth is expected, and in youth maturity is expected, and in maturity old age is expected. Whether this will come about is uncertain, still there is that which may be expected. Old age, however, does not have another period of life to expect; it is even uncertain how long old age itself will last for a man. This, however, is certain, that no age remains which can succeed old age.

"Because God willed it, I came to this city with the vigor of youth; but still my youth has passed and I have grown old. I know that after the deaths of bishops it often happens that churches are disturbed by ambitious and contentious men; and, as far as in me lies, I ought to provide against the occurrence in this city of that which I have often experienced and on ac-

[1] Anno 426.

count of which I have grieved. As you know, dearly beloved, I have recently been in the Church at Milevum; for the brethren and especially the servants of God, who are there, besought me to come; because, after the death of Severus of blessed memory—my brother and fellow bishop—some trouble there was feared. I went; and in what manner the Lord wished, He helped us in His mercy, so that they peaceably received as their bishop him whom their former bishop had designated while still alive. For they willingly embraced the wish of their bishop, who had died and gone on before, when this wish became known to them. Still there was another less important fact on account of which some were saddened namely because brother Severus believed that it could suffice that he name his successor among the clergy and because for that reason he did not address the people. As a result there was sadness on the part of some. Why should I say more? He was pleasing to God; sadness was put to flight; joy took its place; he, whom the preceding bishop had named, was ordained bishop.

"Therefore, that no one may complain about me, I bring to the notice of all of you my choice, which I believe is God's also. I choose the priest Eraclius as my successor."

The people cried out: "Thanks to God, praise to Christ (twenty-three times). Hear, O Christ, life to Augustine (sixteen times). Thou art our father, thou our bishop (eight times)."

And when there was silence the bishop Augustine said: "There is no need for me to say anything in his praise; I applaud his wisdom and I spare his modesty; it is sufficient that you know him. And I say I wish this next thing, because I know you wish it; and if I was ignorant of it before, I should prove it today. This, therefore, I desire; this I ask from the Lord our God with fervent prayers even now in chilly age. I exhort you, I admonish you, I entreat you, that you pray with me for this, and my prayer is that in the peace of Christ God may confirm in the unified and inspired minds of all of you that which He has done among us. And may He who sent him to me keep him, may He keep him safe, may He keep him blameless that he, who makes joy for me while living, may fill my place when dead.

"As you see, the notaries of the church are taking down what we say; they are taking down what you say; and my discourse and your acclamations fall not to earth. To speak

more plainly; we are now completing Ecclesiastical Transactions; for thus I wish this confirmed as far as lies in the power of men."

The people cried out thirty-six times: "Thanks to God, praise to Christ. Hear, O Christ, life to Augustine (thirteen times). Thou art our father, thou our bishop (eight times). He is worthy and just (twenty times). Well deserving, well worthy (five times). He is worthy and just (six times)."

And when there was silence the bishop Augustine said: "Therefore, as I said, I desire my choice and your choice confirmed by the Ecclesiastical Transactions, as far as lies in the power of men; but, as for that which lies in the secret will of the Almighty, let us all, as I said, pray that God will confirm that which He has done among us."

The people cried out: "We give thanks for thy judgment (sixteen times). So be it, so be it (twelve times). Thou art our father, thou, Eraclius, our bishop (six times)."

And when there was silence, the bishop Augustine said: "I know that which you, also, know, but I am unwilling that that which was done in my case should be done in his case. Moreover many of you know what was done. They only do not know who, at that time, either were not yet born, or had not yet attained to the age of knowledge. While the old man Valerius, father of blessed memory and my bishop, was still in the flesh, I was ordained bishop, but I sat with him—a thing I did not know had been forbidden by the Council of Nicaea; and he himself did not know it. And so I am unwilling that that which was censured in me be censured in my son."

The people cried out: "Thanks to God, praise to Christ (thirteen times)."

And when there was silence, the bishop Augustine said: "He will remain a priest as he is and, when God shall wish it, he will be bishop. And now by the help of the mercy of Christ I am about to do clearly what I have not even yet done. You know what I wished to do several years ago, and you did not permit it.

"It seemed good to me and to you, on account of the study of the Scriptures which the brethren and fathers, my fellow bishops, thought fit to impose upon me at the two councils of Numidia and Carthage, that no one should disturb me for five days (a week). The Transactions were completed, it was your pleasure, you approved; your pleasure and your approval were recorded. For a short time the agreement was kept with me, but

afterwards it was violently broken and I am not allowed the leisure which I desire; before noon and after noon I am involved in human affairs. I beseech you and constrain you through Christ that you suffer me to pass on the burdens of my affairs to this young man, that is, to the priest Eraclius whom I this day choose in the name of Christ to succeed me as bishop."

The people cried out: "We give thanks for thy judgment (twenty-six times)."

And when there was silence, the bishop Augustine said: "I give thanks to the Lord our God for your charity and good-will; nay more I thank God for this thing. Therefore, brethren, whatever was brought to me, let it be taken to him; when he shall have need of counsel I will not refuse my aid; far be it that I should withdraw it. Still whatever was brought to me, let it be taken to him. Either let him himself consult me, if perchance he shall not find that which he ought to do, or let him ask as a helper an elder whom he knows both in order that nothing may be lacking to you and finally, if God shall grant me some little space of this life, that I may not betray my own life, howsoever short it be, to sloth, nor give it over to laziness, but that, as far as he himself permits and allows, I may spend it on the Holy Scriptures, and this will profit him and through him it also will profit you. Therefore let no one envy my leisure because my leisure has a mighty task. I see that I have done with you all that I should do in regard to that on account of which I summoned you. Finally I ask this: that you, who can do it, deign to subscribe to these Transactions. At this point I am in need of your answer; let me have your answer; acclaim something in regard to this assent."

The people cried out: "So be it, so be it (twenty-five times). It is worthy, it is just (twenty-eight times). So be it, so be it (fourteen times). He has long been worthy, long deserving (twenty-five times). We give thanks for thy judgment (thirteen times). Hear, O Christ, preserve Eraclius (eighteen times)."

And when there was silence the bishop Augustine said: "It is well that we are able to attend to the affairs which concern the Lord near the time of His sacrifice and, in this our hour of prayer, I especially enjoin upon you, dearly beloved, that you lay aside your plans and your business and that you pour forth a prayer to the Lord for this church, for me, and for the priest Eraclius."

COUNCILS

Because of the incomplete and untrustworthy character of much of the material upon which an account of the Councils of Hippo Regius must be based, it is impossible to present the results of an investigation of them with any considerable satisfaction or confidence. It appears that, in addition to the synod which has already been described,[1] three church councils were held in this city.

The first of these councils was held in the *secretarium* of the *Basilica Pacis* on the eighth day of October in the year 393 which was also the ninth year of the pontificate of Siricius and the fifteenth of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius.[2] According to St. Augustine, who attended as a priest, it was a *plenarium totius Africae Concilium.*[3] It is not certain in just what sense this expression of St. Augustine should be taken, but in regard to the importance of the council there can be little doubt. Its purpose was probably to settle certain questions of church discipline[4] and, if this was its purpose, it was eminently successful, for it not only laid the foundations of the discipline of the African Church,[5] but was the source from which, *tamquam archetypo quodam,* all succeeding African councils borrowed much.[6]

Since no complete or really satisfactory records of this council have survived, it will be of some interest to bring together what is known about its proceedings and decisions.

In the first place St. Augustine delivered at this council a discourse *De Fide et Symbolo* which he afterwards wrote out at the request of his friends.[7] This treatise has survived and occupies about seven and a half pages in the *Patrologia Latina.*[8]

[1] See pp. 38 ff.

[2] Mansi, *Collectio,* III. 849; Dionysius Exiguus (*P.L.* no. 67. col. 193).

[3] Aug. *Retractiones,* I. 17; this is the correct reference, not Possidius, *Vita,* 7, as given by Mansi (*Collectio,* III. 849) and Hefele (*History of the Church Councils*—English translation by Oxenham, II. p. 395).

[4] Mansi, *Collectio,* III. 918.

[5] *ibid.* III. 909.

[6] *ibid.* III. 849.

[7] Aug. *Retractiones,* I. 17.

[8] no. 40. col. 181 ff.

It deals with the problems of the Creation, the Trinity, the Catholic Church, the Remission of Sins, and the Resurrection.

In the second place, two decisions of *a* Council of Hippo, which are attributed to the *first* Council of Hippo Regius by Mansi[9] and by Hefele,[10] were read and renewed[11] by an African council which was held at Carthage in 525 A.D.[12] The first of these decisions is in regard to the observance of Easter and is found in a briefer form in the epitome of the canons of the first Council of Hippo.[13] The second has been summarized by Hefele as follows:[14] "The same Bishop Caecilian, in union with his colleague Honoratus, also a Mauretanian, made a second proposition, that the Bishop of Sitifi should be appointed *episcopus primae sedis* for Mauretania. He was to be chosen by the Provincial Synod, but his election was to be signified to the Bishop of Carthage, from whom he would receive instructions. Aurelius of Carthage brought this question also under discussion. The Bishops, Epigonius of Bulla Regia and Megalius of Calama in Numidia, took part in it, and it was at last unanimously resolved that each province might have its *episcopus primae sedis*, on condition that none should be appointed without the knowledge of the Bishop of Carthage, so that the authority of his See should remain intact. These bishops were also always to give account of their acts to the bishop of Carthage."

In the third place, some of the canons of this council were inserted in the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae*[15] which was compiled in the year 419 A.D.[16] According to Mansi[17] and Hardouin[18] they are numbers twenty-eight to thirty-three of this collection; but this attribution is doubtful and Boudinhon has argued with great plausibility that numbers twenty-nine to thirty-three should be assigned not to the first but to the third Council of Hippo Regius. Numbers twenty-eight to thirty-three of the African Codex may be summarized as follows:

[9] *Collectio*, III. 850.
[10] *Councils*, II. p. 401.
[11] Mansi, *Collectio*, VIII. 643 ff.
[12] *ibid.* VIII. 635.
[13] See below, pp. 47 ff.
[14] *Councils*, II. p. 401.
[15] Mansi, *Collectio*, III. 730.
[16] *ibid.* III. 699.
[17] *ibid.* III. 730.
[18] *Collectio Conciliorum*, I. 954.

XXVIII. That priests, deacons, or clerics, who in cases of their own have thought it necessary to appeal to transmarine courts, shall by no means be received to communion.

XXIX. That if anyone who has been excommunicated presumes to communicate before his hearing, he shall have pronounced himself guilty by so doing.[19]

XXX. That, if accuser or accused fears violence in the place where the accuser lives, he shall for the completion of his case choose a place which is near and to which it will not be difficult to summon the witnesses.[20]

XXXI. That clerics or deacons, who have been disobedient to the bishops who have advanced them, shall not be permitted to officiate even in their former offices.

XXXII. That, if a cleric who was without property at the time of his ordination, afterwards acquires property, this property shall be subject to the power of the Church.[21]

XXXIII. (a) That priests shall not dispose of church property without the consent of their bishops.[22]

(b) That bishops shall not dispose of church property unknown to the council or their priests.[23]

(c) That, unless it be necessary, bishops shall not expend the church property which is in their charge.[24]

Furthermore it is the opinion of Hardouin[25] and of Mansi[26] that the fifty-second and seventy-third canons and the introduction to the ninety-fifth canon of the same African Codex are drawn from this first Council of Hippo. The first of these passages is *de visitandis provinciis,* and the others deal with the observance of Easter.

In the fourth place and finally, a breviary of the statutes, or canons, of this council has been preserved with the proceedings of the third Council of Carthage which was held in the year 397.[27] Although two versions of this breviary were long known,[28]

[19] Fulgentius Ferrandus, *Breviatio Canonum,* 54 (*P.L.* no. 67.)
[20] *ibid.* 198.
[21] *ibid.* 35.
[22] *ibid.* 95.
[23] *ibid.* 47.
[24] *ibid.* 38.
[25] *Collectio Conciliorum,* I. 954.
[26] *Collectio,* III. 850.
[27] *ibid.* III. 875 ff; Prosper, *Epitoma,* anno 397.
[28] Mansi, *Collectio,* III. 893 ff.

a satisfactory recension did not exist in print until the Ballerini recovered from excellent and theretofore apparently unknown codices what is now considered to be the original of this breviary.[29] It may be found in Mansi[30] and is in two parts, the first of which contains some of the proceedings of the council, while the second is made up of the breviary proper. This important record may be rendered into English as follows:

"The Statutes of the Council of Hippo, abridged and certain of them compared with the Byzacene bishops at the Council of Carthage and diligently studied, are as follows:

"The Profession of Faith of the Council of Nicaea was recited and confirmed. It is as follows: We believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, the only begotten Son of the Father—that is the substance of the Father—,God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, born not made, of one substance with the Father—which the Greeks call *omousion*—, by whom all things were made whether in heaven or in earth; who for us men and for our salvation descended, became incarnate, and was made man through the Virgin Mary, suffered and rose the third day, ascended to heaven and will come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost. Those moreover who say that He was when He was not, and that before He was born He was not; and those who say that the Son of God is mutable and changeable because He was made out of non-existent things or out of a foreign substance, them the Catholic Church and the Apostolic Discipline anathematize.

"Moreover it has been decided on account of an error which is wont often to arise, that all the African provinces shall take care to receive from the Church at Carthage the day of the observance of Easter.

"Cresconius, Bishop of Villa Regis, who was said to have held the Church of Tubunae, was ordered to be content with his own congregation, that is of the Church of Villa Regis, and after this it was decided that none should usurp the congregations of others.

Since she asked this at the instigation of the Moors, Mauretania Sitifensis was allowed to have a primate of her own.

"Moreover all the bishops of the first sees have declared that

[29] Mansi, *Collectio*, III. 909 ff; Hefele, *Councils*, II. p. 396.
[30] *Collectio*, III. 917 ff.

the primates of their provinces shall be appointed in accordance with the advice of the Bishop of Carthage, if there is any disagreement.

(The Abridgment of the Statutes begins.)

"I. That lectors shall not pronounce the salutation to the people. And that before the age of twenty-five years clerics shall not be ordained nor virgins consecrated. That those who have been for the first time instructed in the Sacred Scriptures or those who have been trained in them from childhood shall be promoted to the clerical rank upon profession and affirmation of faith.

"II. That the decrees of the council shall be previously enjoined by their ordainers upon those ordained bishops or clerics in order that they may not say that they have done anything contrary to the statutes of the council.

"III. Moreover that during the very holy days of Easter no sacrament shall be given to the catechumens except the accustomed salt; because, if the faithful exchange no sacrament during those days, neither should the catechumens exchange any.

"IV. That the Eucharist shall not be given to the bodies of the dead because the Lord said: *Take and eat*; but dead bodies can neither take nor eat. Moreover that precaution must be taken that the weakness of the brethren shall not think that the dead too can be baptized, when they see that the Eucharist is not given to the dead.

"V. That on account of ecclesiastical cases which are often prolonged to the calamity of the congregations, a council shall be called each year and to it all provinces, which have sees of the first rank, shall each send three representatives from their own councils so that the assembly may be of full authority but to its hosts both less troublesome and less expensive. And that from Tripolis, on account of the poverty of its bishops, only one bishop shall come.

"VI. That when a bishop is accused, the accuser shall bring the case before the primate of the province of the accused; and that he against whom a charge is lodged shall not be deprived of communion unless, when summoned to plead his case by letters of the primate, he has not even appeared—that is, within the space of a month from that day on which it has been decided that he received the letters. But that, if he shall prove any true and compelling reasons on account of which it is manifest that

he could not appear, he shall within the next month have a fresh opportunity of pleading his case. But that after the second month he shall not communicate until after he has been acquitted.

"VII. However, that, if he is unwilling to appear at the annual general council so that even there his case may be closed, he shall be considered to have pronounced against himself a sentence of condemnation. And that during the time that he does not communicate, he shall, of course, not communicate in his own congregation either. Moreover, that, if his accuser shall not be absent on any of the days of the pleading of the case, he shall not be deprived of communion, but, if he is ever absent, the bishop shall be restored to communion and the accuser himself shall be deprived of it; on the condition, however, that the opportunity of continuing his prosecution shall not be taken away from him if he shall prove that he was not unwilling to appear on the (appointed) day but was unable to do so. This indeed was decided in order that, if, when a man has begun to bring an action in a court of bishops, the character of the accuser is culpable, he shall not be permitted to make an accusation or prosecute a case unless he wishes to plead a personal and not an ecclesiastical case.

"VIII. Moreover, that, if priests or deacons are accused,— when the prescribed number of colleagues has been added to them from neighboring localities (that is; in the case of a priest five, in the case of a deacon two)—, their own bishops shall try the case, observing the same rules in regard to the days or postponements, or deprivation of communion and of examination of the character of the accusers and the accused. Furthermore, that the bishop of the place shall by himself hear and settle the cases of all others.

"IX. And, indeed, that, if a bishop or a cleric, when a charge is made against him in the Church or when a civil case is brought, forsakes the ecclesiastical courts and attempts to be cleared by the public courts, he shall lose his office even if the case is decided in his favor— that is in a criminal case. But that in a civil case he shall lose what he has won if he wishes to retain his office, because he, to whom the authority of the Church is everywhere open for choosing judges, judges himself unworthy of fraternal fellowship, if, by thinking ill of the whole Church, he asks the aid of a civil trial: because the apostle directs that the

cases of private Christians be brought before the Church and there determined.

"X. This, also, was decided that, if an appeal is made from certain ecclesiastical judges to other ecclesiastical judges of higher authority, it shall not injure the judges whose sentence is not sustained unless they can be proved to have given judgment with hostile bias or to have been corrupted by some favoritism or hope of gain. But that, if arbiters have been appointed with the consent of both parties, an appeal may not be made even from a number smaller than that prescribed.

"XI. That, inasmuch as the sons of bishops and clerics are excluded from shows, they shall neither produce nor attend secular shows.

"XII. That the sons of bishops or of any clerics shall not be joined in marriage to pagans, or even to heretics and schismatics.

"XIII. That bishops, or clerics, shall not permit their sons to go out from their power by making them independent unless they are sure in regard to both their morals and their maturity so that they can be responsible for their own sins.

"XIV. That bishops or clerics shall not confer upon those who are not Catholic Christians—even if they are their kinsmen—any of their possessions either by gift or by will.

"XV. That bishops, priests, and deacons shall not be the managers or agents of private parties nor shall they seek a livelihood in any business such that it is necessary for them to go abroad or be called away from their ecclesiastical duties.

"XVI. That women who are not related to them shall not live with any of the clerics at all but only their mothers, grandmothers, paternal and maternal aunts, and sisters, and the daughters of brothers or of sisters, and whoever of the household then lived with them for some domestic purpose even before they were ordained, or if the sons have married wives after the ordination of their fathers, or if there are in the house no servants whom they can hire and it is necessary to hire them elsewhere.

"XVII. That bishops, priests, and deacons shall not be ordained before they have made Catholic Christians of all those who are in their homes.

"XVIII. That lectors shall read until the age of puberty, but

then shall not read unless they guard their chastity by marrying or unless they make a vow of continence.

"XIX. That no one shall dare to retain or promote in a church entrusted to him the cleric of another except with the consent of his (i.e. the cleric's) bishop. Moreover that even lectors shall retain the name of clerics.

"XX. That no one shall be ordained unless he has been approved either by episcopal examination or by the testimony of the people.

"XXI. That in prayer no one shall name the Father instead of the Son, or the Son instead of the Father. And that before the altar the prayer shall always be made to the Father. And that whoever copies for himself prayers from an outside source shall not use them, unless he has first gone over them with better-instructed brethren.

"XXII. That no cleric shall receive in return from anyone more than he has loaned to him, whether he gives him money or anything else whatever.

"XXIII. That in the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of the Lord nothing more shall be given than what the Lord Himself handed down, that is, the bread and the wine mixed with water. (But the first-fruits, or the honey, and the milk which is accustomed to be offered on one most solemn day as the mystery of the children, even though they are offered on the altar, still have their own proper benediction so that they are differentiated from the Sacrament of the Blood and Body of the Lord). And that nothing more of the first-fruits shall be offered than of the vine and of the grain.

"XXIV. That clerics under a vow of chastity (*continentes*) shall not visit widows or virgins except by the order or permission of their bishops or priests. And they shall not do this alone but with (other) clerics or with those with whom the bishop or priest has ordered. And that the bishops themselves or the priests shall not have access to women of this kind unaccompanied, but when either clerics or some other sober Christians are present.

"XXV. That a 'bishop of the first rank' (*primae sedis*) shall not be called 'prince of the priests,' or 'chief priest' or anything of this kind but only 'bishop of the first rank.'

"XXVI. That clerics shall not enter taverns to eat or drink, except when a journey makes this necessary.

"XXVII. That bishops shall not set out to cross the sea, except after consultation with the bishop of the first rank of the province of each; especially in order that they may get from him their passports. Moreover that, hereafter, letters of the council are to be sent to the bishops across the sea.

"XXVIII. That the sacraments of the altar shall be celebrated only by those who have fasted, except on the anniversary of the day on which the Feast of the Lord is celebrated. For, if a memorial service of any of the dead, either of the bishops, or of the clerics, or of any others, must take place in the afternoon, it shall be done with prayers only, if those doing it be found to have eaten already.

"XXIX. That no bishops or clerics shall feast together in the church, except when perchance it is necessary for them to act as hosts there in refreshing travellers, and that the people shall be excluded as far as possible from even these banquets.

"XXX. That the times of penance shall be appointed to the penitents by the judgment of the bishop in accordance with the difference of their sins. That priests shall not absolve penitents without consulting the bishop, except when the bishop is absent and the case is urgent. Moreover, that, because the whole church knows the sin, the laying on of hands should be in the apse of the church in the case of any penitent whose offense is public and widely known.

"XXXI. That, when holy virgins are bereft of their parents by whom they were guarded, they shall be entrusted to respectable women by the wisdom of the bishop or the priest in order that these women living with them may in turn guard them that they injure not the good repute of the church by wandering about.

"XXXII. That the sick, if unable to reply for themselves, shall be baptized when those who are related to them have at their own peril given testimony that it was their wish.

"XXXIII. That grace and reconciliation shall not be denied to actors and apostates who have been converted or who have returned to the Lord.

"XXXIV. That a priest shall not consecrate virgins without consulting his bishop and he shall never make the Chrism.

"XXXV. That clerics shall not tarry in a strange city unless the bishop of the place or the priests of the place consider their reasons sufficient.

"XXXVI. That, besides the canonical Scriptures, nothing shall be read in the church under the name of the Holy Scriptures. Moreover the canonical Scriptures are: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jesus the Son of Nave, Judges, Ruth, four books of the Kings, two books of Chronicles, Job, the Psalter of David, five books of Solomon, twelve books of the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, Tobit, Esther, two books of Esdras, two books of the Maccabees; and of the New Testament: the four books of the Gospels, one book of the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of Paul the Apostle together with the Epistle of the same to the Hebrews, two letters of Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude, (and) the Apocalypse of John; on condition that the Church across the sea shall be consulted in regard to the confirmation of this canon. That it shall also be permissible to read the sufferings of the Martyrs when their anniversary days are celebrated.

"XXXVII. It was decided, moreover, that, inasmuch as it was decreed by the preceding councils that none of the Donatists should be received by us and retain their rank but should be received into the number of the laity on account of the salvation which must be denied to no one (moreover the churches in Africa suffer such lack of ordained clerics that some places are altogether deserted)—that for this reason what has already been decreed shall be observed in regard to these persons but that those shall be excepted who, it is manifest, have not been baptized or who wish to come over to the Catholic Communion with their flocks. For, as it is written: *if two Christians are gathered together they shall obtain whatever they ask*, it must not be doubted that, when the offense of the schism of all the people has been removed, it is fitting that concord, which has been brought back to the unity of peace, shall obtain from the mercy of the Lord that by the compensation of this peace and by the sacrifice of charity the sins shall be washed away which they, following the authority of their elders, have committed through the repetition of baptism. But it was decided that this should not be adopted until the Church across the sea has been consulted in regard to it.

"Concerning the Donatists it was decided that we shall consult the brethren and our fellow bishops, Siricius and Simplicianus, concerning those children alone who have been baptized by these Donatists in order that inasmuch as they did not

act by their own judgment, they may not, when they have been converted to the Church by the saving purpose of God, be prevented by the error of their parents from being advanced as ministers of the Sacred Altar."

The translation of the breviary of the canons of the first Council of Hippo Regius may be ended at this point inasmuch as the two remaining canons in the edition of the Ballerini do not belong to this council[31] as the editors themselves admit.[32]

The reader who would pursue further the study of this council is referred to the collections of Hardouin and of Mansi for the text of the canons in the original languages and for cross references and notes on the text.[33] Further notes may be found in Dom Leclercq's French translation of Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte.*[34] The French scholar has not only made Hefele's valuable work available in a more readable form, but has furnished the translation with many illuminating notes.

The material for an account of the first Council of Hippo was far from complete, but that which is even probably known about the second council which was held there is so little that it can be told in a single sentence. In the year 395 a council was held at Hippo Regius and to it one canon has been ascribed, to wit:[35] "That bishops, or priests shall not, without first giving their reasons, transfer to other places goods which are in the places where they were ordained."[36]

A third council was held at Hippo Regius in the *Basilica Leontina* on the twenty-fourth of September 427.[37] Mansi's assignment of canons to this council will be passed over as it is very distinctly inferior to the ingenious and careful study of Boudinhon. Boudinhon's arguments and his partial reconstruction of the proceedings of this council—together with tables and full references to his sources—may be found in Appendix V of the second volume of Leclercq's translation of

[31] Hefele, *Histoire* (tr. Leclercq), II. 1. p. 89. note 1.

[32] Mansi, *Collectio,* III. 937. note 10.

[33] See the places referred to in the notes to the first part of this section.

[34] *Histoire des conciles,* II. 1. pp. 82-91.

[35] Mansi, *Collectio,* III. 859.

[36] Cf. Ferrandus, no. 34. In regard either to the first or the second of these councils cf. Prosper, *Epitoma,* anno 397.

[37] Mansi, *Collectio,* IV. 539.

Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte*. This reconstruction is briefly as follows:

1. After the council had assembled, the bishop Aurelius said; "Your Holinesses know well that it was due to necessity that the solemn convention of this council did not take place for two years. Now because it has come to pass in the sure order of things that by the help of God our holy brother and fellow bishop Augustine should willingly receive this council in behalf of his religion and because the Lord had ordered us to assemble together, and because it has happened that I who am unworthy should greet you all face to face, for these reasons let us do something in the interest of the Church so that those things which are born in us, or to which we must listen shall be heeded lest cases grow to worse which should have been dismissed long ago. Therefore, there is need that those ecclesiastical cases which have to do with discipline should be handled."

The whole council said: "We willingly pay attention in order that this may come to pass."

2. The aged Aurelius said: "Let the decisions of the previous councils be read and inserted in the proceedings of the present council."

3. (See above,[38] the twenty-ninth canon of the Codex, and Hefele-Leclercq-Boudinhon, II.2.p.1306).

4. (See above, canon thirty of the Codex, and Boudinhon, *l.c.*).

5. (See above, canon thirty-one of the Codex, and Boudinhon, *l.c.*).

6. That bishops or priests shall not transfer church property from one place to another without first assigning reason. (See also Boudinhon, *l.c.* p. 1307).

7. (See above, canon thirty-two of the Codex, and Boudinhon, *l.c.*).

8. (See above, canon thirty-three of the Codex, and Boudinhon, *l.c.*).

9. (See above, canon thirty-three of the Codex, and Boudinhon, *l.c.* p. 1308).

10. Each (of the bishops) confirmed these statutes with his own signature: Aurelius, Simplicius, Augustinus, etc.

From the foregoing account of the Councils of Hippo Regius it is evident that three councils were held there in antiquity and that the dates of these councils and the places at which

[38] p. 45.

they were held are fairly well established. It is also evident that although no complete records of these councils have survived, a good deal of importance is known with a fair degree of certainty about the first council, that practically nothing of interest is known in regard to the second, and that but little can be asserted about the third with any amount of assurance as to its correctness, although if Boudinhon's arguments are correct—and this is probable—certain facts of some interest are known about it.

MILITARY HISTORY

Although the history of Hippo Regius probably extended over a period of approximately 2000 years and at or near it many military events of interest doubtless occurred during these centuries, still the memory of but few such events has survived and the notices even of these are disappointingly meager. In the case of language and of several other topics it has been possible to supplement the scanty specific references by means of probable or necessary inferences, but in the case of the military history it is for obvious reasons better to confine the account to information derived from explicit statements and not to attempt to amplify it inferentially or conjecturally from the general history of the district. The civil wars which are known to have taken place in Africa in the time of the Gordians, the raids of native chieftains into the coastal regions, and other similar disturbances of the peace of North Africa will, accordingly, be passed over in silence and the ensuing account will consist of a relation of those military operations which are *recorded* to have taken place at or near this ancient city. Such events were not numerous and were for the most part far separated in time.

The problem of the first military operations which are recorded as having been carried out near a place, supposedly Hippo Regius, is as follows: Diodorus states that Agathocles (of Syracuse) captured *τὴν Ἵππου καλουμένην ἄκραν*.[1] This event took place in the year 307-6 B.C.[2] A few chapters later he says that Eumachus captured *τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ἄκραν Ἵππου τὴν ὁμώνυμον τῇ χειροθείσῃ κατὰ κράτος ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους*----.[3] Inasmuch as the city captured by Agathocles was undoubtedly Hippo Diarrhytus[4] and as Ptolemy mentions a *Ἵππου ἄκρα*[5] near Hippo Regius, it is fair to conclude that Hippo Regius was captured by Eumachus in the closing years of the fourth century before Christ. The identification of *Ἵππου ἄκρα* with Hippo

[1] xx. 55.
[2] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I. 1. 753.
[3] xx. 57. 6.
[4] *ibid.* xx. 55.
[5] *Geographia*, IV. 3. 2 (ed. Müller, II. p. 615).

Regius has been questioned[6] but does not present serious difficulties and seems worthy of credence.

The Carthaginian mercenaries revolted after the first Punic War. Nepos says that after this revolt had been quelled, Hamilcar recovered all of the *oppida abalienata* for Carthage, and among them Utica and Hippo.[7] From the context it is much more probable that this reference is to Hippo Diarrhytus than that it is to Hippo Regius.

During the Hannibalic War, in the year 205 B.C., Gaius Laelius arrived at Hippo Regius by night and at daybreak disembarked his soldiers and naval allies for the purpose of laying waste the surrounding territory. The inhabitants were acting carelessly as if in time of peace and as a result there was a great slaughter. When this was reported to Carthage it caused great consternation and a levy was made and a fleet was equipped against Laelius; but, before it could attack him, he had sailed away after receiving a visit from Masinissa and after loading his ships with booty.[8]

During the Civil War in 46 B.C. a naval battle of some importance was fought near Hippo Regius. It came to pass in this manner: Scipio, Damasippus, Torquatus, and Plaetorius Rustianus, while sailing with their fleet for Spain, were long and severely storm-tossed and were finally borne into the harbor of Hippo Regius where the fleet of Sittius happened to be at that time. A naval battle ensued in which Sittius was victorious and the leaders of the opposing faction were killed.[9]

Hippo Regius does not appear again in the records as the scene of military operations until the fifth century of our era, when "after the Vandals had sojourned nearly twenty years in Spain, came the day when Count Bonifatius, ill-requited for his loyalty to Placidia and her children,---sent that fatal embassy---by which he invited the barbarians into Africa."[10] They crossed the Straits probably in 428 A.D.[11] and spread misery and de-

[6] Gsell, *Atlas,* Texte, IX. p. 5; Tissot, *Géographie,* I. p. 540.

[7] *Hamilcar,* 2. 4.

[8] Livy, xxix. 3-5.

[9] *B. Afr.* 96.

[10] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders,* II. p. 225. See also Procopius, *B.V.* 1. 3. 14 ff.

[11] The exact date is disputed. A discussion of the sources and arguments may be found in Hodgkin, *op. cit.* II. pp. 290-292.

struction over the fair African provinces of the Roman Empire.[12]

According to the chronology of the Vandal rule in Africa which Hodgkin has worked out, these barbarian invaders entered Africa in 428 A.D. and their power finally fell before the victorious arms of Belisarius in the year 533.[13]

When Boniface learned that he had been the victim of a plot at the imperial court and that he would again be received with favor, "he repented of his act and of his agreement with the barbarians, and he besought them incessantly, promising them everything, to remove from Libya. But since they did not receive his words with favor, but considered that they were being insulted, he was compelled to fight with them and, being defeated in the battle, he retired to Hippo Regius, a strong city in the portion of Numidia that is on the sea. There the Vandals made camp under the leadership of Gizeric and began a siege."[14] St. Augustine and certain other bishops were shut up in the city during this siege which lasted nearly fourteen months.[15] During the siege St. Augustine fell sick and died on August twenty-eighth in the year 430.[16]

There is some doubt and confusion in regard to the military vicissitudes which this city experienced in the months which followed shortly after the death of its greatest bishop. Our information is derived from two sources, Possidius, who was in the city during the siege, and Procopius, who was a staff officer in the Byzantine armies which operated in Africa about one hundred years later. The problem is as follows: Possidius, writing between the years 432-430, says: "Of the innumerable churches he (Augustine) saw only three survive, namely those of Carthage, Hippo, and Cirta.----These cities too still stand, protected by human and divine aid, although after Augustine's death the city of Hippo, abandoned by its inhabitants, was burned by the enemy."[17] Procopius says: "But after much time

[12] See Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, II. pp. 209-296; Procopius, *B.V.*; Victor Vitensis; Capreolus, I. (*P.L.* no. 53. col. 843 ff.).

[13] Hodgkin, *op. cit.* II. pp. 290-296.

[14] Procopius, *B.V.* I. 3. 30 ff. (I have availed myself of Prof. Dewing's translation).

[15] Possidius, *Vita*, 28.

[16] Prosper, *Epitoma*, anno 430; Victor Vitensis, I. 10.

[17] *Vita*, 28; see also Weiskotten, *Introduction*, p. 21.

had passed by, since they were unable to secure Hippo Regius either by force or by surrender, and since at the same time they were being pressed by hunger, they raised the siege."[18]

On the basis of these two passages the history of Hippo immediately after the death of St. Augustine may be reconstructed. To effect this reconstruction it will be necessary to assume; first that Possidius' statement that Hippo was *concremata* refers to a partial rather than a total destruction by burning, and second that the flight of the inhabitants and the conflagration were not of sufficient magnitude or permanence to merit notice by a writer who lived a century after the event. These assumptions are neither improbable nor violent. In accordance with them it may be stated that, in all probability, the siege of Hippo was abandoned by the Vandals in the summer of 431;[19] that this abandonment was due to scarcity of provisions among the besiegers; and that shortly afterwards the inhabitants of the city fled and the Vandals returned and partially burned it. It appears to have been reinhabited not long afterwards as peace was there concluded with the Vandals in 435 by Trigetius; Geiseric stayed there for three years; and, it was again a πόλιν ἐχυράν at the time of the Byzantine invasion of North Africa.[20] The walls, however, appear to have been razed by the Vandals. At the time of the recovery of Africa by the armies of Justinian they had not been rebuilt.[21]

Two incidents of considerable interest took place near Hippo Regius during the campaigns of Belisarius in Africa.

In regard to the first of these Procopius writes as follows:[22] "In the house of Gelimer there was a certain scribe named Boniface,[23] a Libyan, and a native of Byzacium, a man exceed-

[18] *B.V.* I. 3. 34.

[19] 14—3=11, August 430+11=July+length of sickness, 431; Possidius *Vita,* 29; Prosper, *Epitoma,* anno 430.

[20] Prosper, *Epitoma,* anno 435; Procopius, *B.V.* II. 4. 26; *Epitome Carthaginiensis,* no. 1339 (*Chronica Minora,* Mommsen, I. p. 497); *Laterculus Regum Wandalorum et Alanorum* (*Chronica Minora,* Mommsen, III. p. 458); see also Papencordt, *Geschichte,* pp. 343-344.

[21] Procopius, *B.V.* I. 5. 8 ff.

[22] *B.V.* II. 4. 33 ff. (tr. Dewing); Victor Tunnunensis (*P.L.* no. 68. col. 954) says the following of Boniface: "Geilimer tyrannus multos nobilium Africae provinciae crudeliter exstinguit multorumque substantias per Bonifacium tollit."

[23] cf. Gsell, *Inscriptions,* I. no. 108(?).

ingly faithful to Gelimer. At the beginning of this war Gelimer had put this Boniface on a very swift-sailing ship, and, placing all the royal treasure in it, commanded him to anchor in the harbour of Hippo Regius; and if he should see that the situation was not favorable to their side, he was to sail with all speed to Spain with the money, and go to Theudis, the leader of the Visigoths, where he was expecting to find safety for himself also, should the fortune of war prove adverse for the Vandals. So Boniface, as long as he felt hope for the cause of the Vandals, remained there; but as soon as the battle in Tricamarum took place, with all the other events which have been related, he spread his canvas and sailed away just as Gelimer had directed him. But an opposing wind brought him back, much against his will, into the harbour of Hippo Regius. And since he had already heard that the enemy were somewhere near, he entreated the sailors with many promises to row with all their might for some other continent or for an island. But they were unable to do so, since a very severe storm had fallen upon them and the waves of the sea were rising to great height, seeing that it was the Tuscan sea, and then it occurred to them and to Boniface that, after all, God wished to give the money to the Romans and so was not allowing the ship to put out. However, though they had got outside the harbour, they encountered great danger in bringing their ship back to anchorage. And when Belisarius arrived at Hippo Regius, Boniface sent some men to him. These he commanded to sit in a sanctuary, and they were to say that they had been sent by Boniface, who had the money of Gelimer, but to conceal the place where he was, until they should receive the pledges of Belisarius that upon giving Gelimer's money he himself should escape free from harm, having all that was his own. These men, then, acted according to these instructions, and Belisarius was pleased at the good news and did not decline to take an oath. And sending some of his associates he took the treasure of Gelimer and released Boniface in possession of his own money and also with an enormous sum which he plundered from Gelimer's treasure."

The second incident has to do with the final capture of Gelimer, the last king of the Vandals. After the Byzantine victory at Tricamarum, Gelimer fled westward; Belisarius followed and, upon reaching Hippo Regius, learned that Gelimer had ascended the mountain Papua and could no longer be

captured by the Romans. "Now this mountain is situated at the extremity of Numidia and is exceedingly precipitous and climbed only with the greatest difficulty (for lofty cliffs rise up toward it from every side), and on it dwell barbarian Moors, who were friends and allies to Gelimer----. There Gelimer rested with his followers."[24] Although the account of Procopius does not seem to agree with certain topographical features of the mountain which the French call the "Edough,"[25] the identification of the "Edough" with the Παπούαν τὸ ὄρος of Procopius is beyond doubt. This "Edough" is a mountain-mass which occupies the extremity of the great promontory which juts northward into the Mediterranean between Bona and Philippeville.

As Belisarius was unable to conduct the siege himself, he left Pharas, an Erulian, to blockade the mountain and returned to Carthage by way of Hippo Regius where he promised safety to the Vandals who were suppliants at the shrines and sent them to Carthage.

After besieging the mountain for some time Pharas became weary of the siege for several reasons, and especially because of the winter season, and made an unsuccessful attack upon the mountain in which he lost one hundred and ten of his men. After this disastrous attempt he again settled down to the blockade and, knowing that the soft and luxury-loving Vandals must be suffering intensely from the blockade and from life among the barbarian Moors in the winter time, he opened negotiations with Gelimer. For a time the Vandal king held out, but finally toward spring, overcome by the hardships and hopelessness of the situation, he surrendered and was taken to Belisarius at Carthage.[26]

This is the last military event which I have found recorded as taking place at or near Hippo with the exception of the destruction of the city by the Arabs which is treated in the next section.

[24] Procopius, *B.V.* II. 4. 27 (tr. Dewing).
[25] Fournel, *Richesse,* I. pp. 31-33.
[26] Procopius, *B.V.* II. 4-7.

THE DESTRUCTION OF HIPPO REGIUS AND THE FOUNDATION OF BONA

Because of the meager and often untrustworthy character of the data, it is impossible to give a full or entirely satisfactory account of the history of Hippo Regius subsequent to the Byzantine recovery of North Africa for the Empire or to state definitely the date of its final destruction or abandonment. Furthermore the date of the foundation of Bona is not beyond doubt. However, a fairly consistent account of the later history of Hippo Regius and of the foundation of Bona can be constructed from the available evidence and the following paragraphs represent an attempt to construct such an account.

The Moor who is generally known as Leo Africanus was born in Spain in the last decade of the fifteenth century. He went early to North Africa, was well educated, and became a great traveller. In the course of his travels he was captured and sent to the Pope as a slave; he was subsequently baptized a Christian and taught in Rome. He wrote a *Description of North Africa.*[1] The section in which he deals with Bona, when translated from the Italian version, is in part as follows:[2]

"Bona is an ancient city built by the Romans on the Mediterranean Sea about 120 miles toward the west,[3] and formerly called Hippo, where St. Augustine was bishop; it was subjugated by the Goths, but was afterwards taken by Othman, third Caliph after Mohamed, who destroyed it by sacking and burning; and it remained deserted. Many years later another city was built in the same vicinity about two miles away, being

[1] This work was in Italian and was first printed by Ramusio in his collection which is called *Navigationi et Viaggi.* The original of Leo's work was in Arabic, either in the form of notes or of a full account. It has never been printed and the manuscript containing it is now lost. There are practically contemporary translations of the Italian into Latin, French, and English. None of these translations is entirely accurate, although the French version by Temporal is much praised and appears to have been used by Gsell (*Atlas,* Texte, IX. p. 7).

[2] Ramusio, *op. cit.* I. p. 65—incorrectly numbered p. 71.

[3] The expression, *cento venti miglia verso ponente,* is puzzling as it does not connect up at all with the preceding chapters. It seems that it must refer to the distance from Carthage. See above, Section 1.

constructed from its stones and called, commonly, 'Beld El-huneb,' that is the City of the Jujubes, on account of the great abundance of that fruit which is thereabouts and which the inhabitants dry and eat in the winter. This city has about 300 hearths and is well inhabited, but has few good houses; a very beautiful temple is built there by the side of the sea."

This quotation contains material which falls properly into three categories. The first contains that which deals with Roman times, the second that which belongs to the Arabic tradition, and the third that which came directly under the author's observation.

There are two erroneous statements in the part which deals with Roman times. The first is that the city was founded by the Romans. This statement will cause no surprise when it is remembered that after the fall of the Empire, it became customary to attribute to Rome almost any achievement of which the history was lost. The second erroneous statement, that Hippo was captured by the Goths, is easily explicable on the ground that Leo failed to distinguish clearly between the different Germanic invaders of Africa.[4] Such errors need not vitiate the rest of the account.

In that part of his account which deals with Arabic history, Leo says that "Othman, third Caliph after Mohamed," destroyed the city. Othman was Caliph from 645-656 A. D. According to the accepted history of this period, in the early years of his Caliphate, he sent armies into North Africa.[5] We should conclude, therefore, that Hippo Regius was destroyed by the Arabs in the middle of the seventh century.

Before completing our discussion of this passage from Leo Africanus it will be convenient to take up several passages from certain earlier authors.

Georgius Cyprius, who wrote in the seventh century, and the *Thronus Alexandrinus*, which is probably from the first part of the eighth century, mention a Hippo.[6]

The list of Leo Sapiens, (ninth century), mentions Hippo.[7]

[4] I suspect that Arabic writers were accustomed to call all Germanic peoples "Goths," but am unable to prove it.

[5] See, *inter alia*, Muir, *Caliphate*, pp. 210 ff; Fournel, *Richesse*, I. pp. 385 ff.

[6] Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* (ed. Geltzer), p. 34; Geltzer, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II, 1893, p. 26.

[7] In *Hierocles* (ed. Parthey), p. 79.

And finally El Békri,[8] who lived in the eleventh century, says: "The town of Hippo----is situated----on a hill----which overlooks the town of Sebous. It is today called Medina Zaoui. It is three miles from the new town and is full of mosques----New Bona was walled shortly after 450 (i.e. 1058 A.D.)." The difficulty in regard to the expression the "town of Sebous" has been discussed in the fifth note of Section one.

To return to the account of Leo Africanus. He says: "and it (Hippo Regius) remained deserted." In view of the three passages just quoted we should conclude that this statement of Leo Africanus is incorrect, but we should also conclude that Hippo, or Medina Zaoui, was no longer standing when he visited Bona; therefore it seems not unreasonable to say that Hippo Regius was again inhabited after its sack by the troops of Othman and that it was finally destroyed or abandoned between the eleventh and the early part of the sixteenth centuries.

Leo says further: "many years later another city----was built from its stones (that is from those of Hippo Regius)."[9] If to this statement we add the statement of En Noweiri[10] that after the capture of Carthage by Hassan[11] Bona served as the refuge of the Berbers, the foundation of modern Bona dates from not long before the last decade of the seventh century of our era. The difficulty here arises that it is impossible to tell whether En Noweiri is speaking of Hippo or of Bona. I believe that the reference is to Bona and that the statement of Ibn Haucal in regard to Bona supports this view.[12]

To sum up. First, it is probable that Hippo Regius was sacked and destroyed by the Arabs in the middle of the seventh century, almost certain that it was rebuilt and continued to be

[8] tr. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique*, 1859, p. 72.

[9] The expression *molti anni* seems to fit the date suggested. The *plusieurs années* of the French version does not.

[10] *apud* de Slane, traduction d'Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères*, I. p. 339; see also Ebn-Khaldoun (pp. 24-25 in A. Noel des Vergers' translation *Histoire de l'Afrique* etc.). I am indebted to Prof. A. M. Harmon of Yale for the last-named passage and for checking the reference to the former.

[11] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ch. LI. Section IV.

[12] tr. de Slane, *Journal Asiatique*, 1842, p. 181. "La ville de Bone est d'une moyenne grandeur----elle s'élève sur le bord de la mer et renferme de riches bazars." See also Fournel, *Richesse*, I. p. 387.

inhabited until the eleventh century, and quite certain that it had disappeared by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Second, it is possible and even probable that Bona was founded near the end of the seventh century and it is certain that it had been founded by the eleventh century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I SOURCES

ABOULFÉDA: *Géographie d'Aboulfêda* (tr. Reinaud).
Acta Sanctorum (Bollandist).
Acta Sincera (ed. Ruinart).
AELIAN: *De Natura Animalium.*
Amplissima Collectio Conciliorum (ed. Mansi).
APPIAN: *Bella Civilia.*
Punica.
APULEIUS: *Apologia.*
Florida (ed. Thomas).
Metamorphoses.
ATHENAEUS: *Dipnosophistae.*
AUGUSTINE: *Confessiones.*
Collatio cum Maximino.
Contra Cresconium.
Contra Litteras Petiliani.
De Baptismo contra Donatistas.
De Civitate Dei.
De Cura Gerenda pro Mortuis.
De Fide et Symbolo.
De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum.
Enarrationes in Psalmos.
Epistolae.
Epistolae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio.
In Epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos Tractatus.
Retractationes.
Sermo de Rusticiano.
Sermones.
CAESAR: *Bellum Gallicum.*
CAPREOLUS: *Epistolae.*
CASSIODORUS: *Chronica.*
CASSIUS DIO: *Historia Romana.*
CICERO: *Academica Priora.*
Tusculanae Disputationes.
CLAUDIAN: *De Consulatu Stilichonis.*
Collectio Conciliorum (ed. Hardouin).
CORIPPUS: *Johannid.*
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
DIODORUS: *Bibliotheca Historica.*
DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS: *Codex Canonum Ecclesiasticorum.*
EBN KHALDOUN: *Histoire de l'Afrique* (in A. Noel de Vergers' translation).

El Békri: *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale* (tr. de Slane in *Journal Asiatique*).
En Noweiri: *Apud* de Slane, traduction d'Ibn Khaldoun, *Histoire des Berbères, I.*
Ephemeris Epigraphica (ed. Mommsen).
Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum (ed. Müller).
Fronto: *Epistolae Graecae.*
Fulgentius Ferrandus: *Breviatio Canonum.*
Georgius Cyprius: *Descriptio Orbis Romani.*
Guido: *Geographica* (in *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia,* ed. Pinder & Parthey).
Herodotus: *Historiae.*
Hirtius: *Bellum Africanum.*
Honorius: *Cosmographia* (in *Geographi Latini Minores,* ed. Riese).
Hydatius: *Continuatio Chronicorum.*
Ibn Haucal: *Description de l'Afrique* (tr. de Slane in *Journal Asiatique*).
Ibn Khaldoun: *Prolégomènes* (tr. de Slane).
Isidore of Seville: *Etymologiae.*
Itinerarium Antonini (ed. Parthey & Pinder).
Justinus: *Epitoma.*
Juvenal: *Satirae.*
Laterculus Regum Wandalorum et Alanorum (in *Chronica Minora,* Mommsen, III. pp. 456 ff.).
Leo Africanus: *Della Descrittione Dell'Africa* (in Ramusio, *Navigatione et Viaggi,* fourth edition).
Leo Sapiens et Photius: *Ordo Patriarcharum* (in *Hierocles,* ed. Parthey).
Livy: *Ab Urbe Condita.*
Lucan: *De Bello Civili.*
Manilius: *Astronomicon.*
Marcellinus Comes: *Chronicon.*
Martianus Capella: *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii.*
Nemesianus: *Cynegetica.*
Nepos: *Hamilcar.*
Hannibal.
Notitia Dignitatum (ed. Böcking).
Paulinus of Nola: *Epistolae.*
Pliny: *Historia Naturalis.*
Poetae Latini Minores (ed. Baehrens).
Possidius: *Sancti Augustini Vita* (ed. Weiskotten).
Procopius: *Bellum Vandalicum.*
Prosper: *Epitoma Chronicon.*
Epitome Carthaginiensis (in *Chronica Minora,* Mommsen, I).
Ptolemy: *Geographia* (ed. Müller).
Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia (ed. Pinder & Parthey).

Sallust: *Bellum Iugurthinum.*
Scylax: *Periplus* (in *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller).
Sententiae Episcoporum LXXXVII de Haereticis Baptizandis (*P.L.* no. 3. col. 1089 ff.)
Silius Italicus: *Punica.*
Solinus: *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium.*
Statius: *Silvae.*
Stephanus Byzantinus: *Ethnica.*
Strabo: *Geographica.*
Symmachus: *Epistolae.*
Tabula Peutingeriana.
Tacitus: *Germania.*
Thronus Alexandrinus (ed. Geltzer in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II).
Ulpian: *Liber Secundus Fideicommissorum* (in Justinian, *Digesta*).
Varro: *De Re Rustica.*
Victor: *Liber de Caesaribus.*
Victor Tunnunensis: *Chronicon.*
Victor Vitensis: *Historia Persecutionis Africae Provinciae.*
Vita Fulgentii (*P.L.* no. 65 col. 117 ff.).
Vita Septimi Severi (in *Epitome de Caesaribus*).

II MODERN WORKS

Arnold-Bouchier: *The System of Roman Provincial Administration.*
Babelon: *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Rois de Syrie, & Perses achéménides.*
Barthel: *Zur Geschichte der Römischen Städte in Africa.*
Basset: *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères.*
Boissier: *Roman Africa* (tr. Ward).
Bouchier: *Life and Letters in Roman Africa.*
Budinsky: *Die Ausbreitung der Lateinischen Sprache.*
Bulletin de l'Académie d'Hippone.
Comptes rendus de l'Académie d'Hippone.
Encyclopedia Britannica.
Faidherbe: *Collection complète des inscriptions numidiques.*
Fournel: *Richesse minérale de l'Algérie.*
Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*
Gsell: *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie.*
Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord.
Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie.
Hefele: *Conciliengeschichte.*
Histoires des conciles (tr. Leclercq).
History of the Councils of the Church (tr. Oxenham).

Hodgkin: *Italy and her Invaders,* II.
Leclerq: *L'Afrique chrétienne.*
Meltzer: *Geschichte der Karthager.*
Mesnage: *L'Afrique chrétienne.*
Mommsen: *Römische Geschichte.*
Monceaux: in *Revue des études juives, XLIV.*
Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne.
Morcelli: *Africa Christiana.*
Movers: *Die Phönizier.*
Muir: *Caliphate.*
Muller: *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique.*
Muller, A.: *Vier sidonische Münzen aus der römischen Kaiserzeit* in *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Wien), Philos.-Histor. Classe XXXV. 1860.
Papencordt: *Geschichte der Vandalischen Herrschaft in Africa.*
Pauly-Wissowa: *Real-Encyclopädie.*
Piquet: *Les civilisations de l'Afrique du Nord.*
Sittl: *Die Lokalen Verschiedenheiten der Lateinischen Sprache.*
Smith: *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.*
Smith & Wace: *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*
Thieling: *Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika.*
Tissot: *Géographie de la province romaine d'Afrique.*
Zumpt: *Commentationes Epigraphicae.*

INDEX

Acclamations, 40-2
Ad Aquas, 6
Ad Dianam, 5
Ad Gallum gallinacium, *see* Gallum Gallinatium.
Ad molas, 7
Ad plumbaria, 4
A Silma, 6
Ad Villam Servilianam, 7
Aediles, 28
African Codex, 44-5
Agathocles, 56
Agriculture, 10-11
Almonds, 10
Amsaga flumen, 29
Aphrodisium, 29
Aquis Thibilitanis, 7
Arabic, 17
Arabs, 15, 63, 64
Arian Bishop, *see* Maximinus
Armascla flumen, 6
Armenians, 13
Armoniacum flumen, 5
Arms, 14
Ascours, 31
Atlas, The Lesser, 1 (Note 2)
Audurus, 33
Augustine, St., 1, 18, 19, 29, 30, 33, 35, 38, 62
  coadjutor-bishop, 37
  death, 58
  discourse at first Council of Hippo, 43
  at third Council, 54
  ordained, 36
  speech, 39-42
  study of Scriptures, 41-2
Augustine, Hill of St., 1
Augustus, 29
Aurelius, 44, 54

Barbarae gentes, 18, 19 (Note 16)
Barbary, 9
Barley, 10, 11
Basilica Leontina, 53
Basilica Pacis, 39, 43
Beld Elhuneb, 11, 63
Belisarius, 58-61
Berber, *see* Libyan
Berbers, 12-15, 18 (Note 11), 64
Beef, 11
Bizerte, *see* Hippo Diarrhytus
Blonds, 14
Bona, 1, 9, 10, 11, 18, 62-5
1. Boniface, 58
2. Boniface, 59, 59 (Note 22), 60
Bonifacius, *see* 2. Boniface
Bonifatius, *see* 1. Boniface
Bulla Regia, 3, 6, 44
Butter, 11
Byzacium, 59
Byzantines, 15

Caecilian, 44
Caesar, 26
Calama, 30, 31, 36, 44
Camels, 10, 11
Cape Bon, 9
Carraria, 33
Carthage, 1, 3, 5, 6, 22, 23, 29, 44, 46-7, 57, 58, 61, 64
Carthaginian mercenaries, 57
Carthaginians, 1, 19, 19 (Note 17), 23
Caspaliana, 33
Castellum Sinitense, 29
Cattle, 11
Cavalry, 14
Cereals, 11
Church of Peace, *see Basilica Pacis*
Church property, 54
Cicisa, 6
Cigisa, *see* Cicisa
Circumcellions, 19 (Note 21), 37
Cirta, 2, 3, 7, 29, 31, 58
Civitas, 28, 30
Cizan, 33
Climate, 9
Cluacaria, 6
Clucar, 6
Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae, see African Codex
Coins, 19, 20 (Note 27), 22 (Note 2)
Colonia, 28, 29, 30
Coral, 11
Councils of Carthage, 35, 41, 44, 45
Councils of Hippo Regius
  first, Augustine *De Fide et Symbolo,* 43
    Breviary of canons, 46-53
    Canons (from African Codex), 45
    Church discipline, 43
    Epitome of canons, *see* Breviary
    Plenarium totius Africae concilium, 43
    Proceedings, 46
  second, 53
  third, 44, 53-4

Council of Nicaea, 41
Council of Numidia, 41
Cows, 11
Cresconius, 46
Cullicitanis, *see* Culucitani
Culucitani, 4
Curiales, 28
Cyrenaica, 16, 29

Damasippus, 57
Dates (fruit), 10
Decuriones, 28
Dialects, 18
Donatists, 19 (Note 21), 36, 37, 52
Drought, 9
Duumviri, 28
Duumviri Quinquennales, 28

Easter, 44, 45, 46
Eastern Churches, practices of, 36
Ebn Khaldoun, *see* Ibn Khaldoun
Ecclesiastical discipline, 43, 46, 54
Edough, 31, 61
El Békri, 2, 10, 64
Elefantaria, 6
Elephants, 10, 14
Empire
  Byzantine, 25
  Carthaginian, 24, 25
  Roman, 24-8
En Noweiri, 64
Epigonius, 44
Episcopus primae sedis, 44
Eraclius, *see* Heraclius
Ethiopian, 17
Eumachus, 56

Fauna, *see* Hippo Regius, fauna of
Faustinus, 36
Fedjoudje, 31
Fetzara, 3, 31
Fidentius, 35
Figs, 10
Fish, 11
Flamines Augustales, 28
Flax, 11
Flora, *see* Hippo Regius, flora of
Fruits, 10, 11
Fussala, 31, 33, 34

Gallum Gallinatium, 5
Gardens, 11
Garrison, 30
Gegetu, 7
Geiseric, 58, 59
Gelimer, 59, 59 (Note 22), 60, 61
Germaniciana, 33
Germanic invaders, 63
Getulians, 13
Gharf el Artran, 1, 2
Gippi, 33
Gizeric, *see* Geiseric
Gladiatorial shows, 2
Gold, 14
Gothic, 21
Goths, 62, 63
Grain, 14
Greek, 17-21, esp. 20-1
Greek influence, 20
Greeks, 13, 15, 16, 21
Greek sphere, 15-16

Hamilcar, 57
Hannibal, 19 (Note 17)
Harems, 15
Hasna, 33
Hassan, 64
Hebrew, 18 (Note 15)
Hellenism, 16
Heraclius, 38-42
Hercules, 13
Hiempsal, 13
Hippo Diarrhytus, 3, 5, 22, 22 (Note 1), 26, 29, 56, 57
Hipponensis, 23
Hipponeregienses, 23
Hipponiensis, 23
Hipponienses (Hipponenses) regii, 23
Hipporegii, 23
Hippo Regius
  capture by Eumachus, 56
  civitas, 28
  colonia, 28
  councils, *see* Councils of Hippo Regius
  destruction, 59 ff.
  dioecesis Hipponiensis, 26
  etymology of, 22
  fauna, 10-11
  flora 10-11
  foundation, 23-4
  harbor, 2
  imperial domain near, 31
  importance, 26
  Libyan settlement, 2
  municipium, 28
  oppidum, 28
  products, 10-11
  rainfall, 9
  regio Hipponiensis, 26
  roads, 2-8
  senate, 28 (Note 10)
  siege by Vandals, 58
  situation, 1
  synod, *see* Synod of Hippo
  temperature, 9

territorium, 31
topography, 2
unhealthy, 2
wealth, 10-11
Hippone Zarito, *see* Hippo Diarrhytus
Honey, 11
Honoratus, 44
Horses, 11, 14
Hyppone Regio, *see* Hippo Regius

Ibn Haucal, 11, 64
Ibn Khaldoun, 18, 64 (Note 10)
Imperial domain, 31, 33
Infantry, 14
Inscriptions, Libyan, 18
Ipponte diarito, *see* Hippo Diarrhytus
Iron, 10, 11
Islam, 27

Jews, 16
Juba I, 26
Juba II, 20
Jujubes, 11, 63

Kharéza, 3
Khelidj, El, 2

Laelius, C, 10, 57
Latin, 17-21, esp. 21
Leo Africanus, 11, 62-4
Leontius, 35
Libya, 58
Libyan, 17-19
Libyans, 12-15, 24
Literature
Berber, 18
Latin, 21
Lucillus, 29

Macer, T. Flavius, 32
Macrobius, 37
Mago, 19 (Note 17)
Mapalia, 13
Mappalia, 33
Marble, 10, 11
Marriage customs, 15 (Note 23)
Masaesylies, 15
Masinissa, 24, 25, 57
Masylies, 15
Mauretania, 26, 44, 46
Mauri, 13
Maurousioi, *see* Moors
Maximinus, 38
Maxula, 29
Meat, 11
Mechta el Agareb, 31
Medes, 13
Medina Zaoui, 64
Megalius, 36, 44
Memblone, 5
Membro, 5
Milevum, 3, 40
Milk, 11
Monuments, 15
Moors, 15, 46, 61
Muharur, 4
Municipium, 28, 29

Naraggara, 7, 8
Nedibus, 4
Negroes, 16
Nicene Profession of Faith, 46
Nomades, 13
North Africa
description, 1
races, 12-16
nations, 15
Notaries, 40
Novis Aquilianis, 6
Numidia, 13, 22, 25, 26, 27, 34, 36, 44, 58
Numidians, 13-15

Odiana, 6
Olives, 10
Onellaba, 6
Oppidum, 28
Oracles, 15
Othman, 62-4
Ouider, 31

Papua, 60, *see also* Edough
Paratianis, 3, 4
Pasturage, 11
Persians, 13
Pharas, 61
Phenician, *see* Punic
Phenicians, 1, 13, 15, 19, 23
Phenician wall, 23
Picus, 6
Placidia, 57
Plaetorius Rustianus, 57
Polygamy, 15
Pomegranates, 10
Praeses, 26
Proculeianus, 37
Punic, 13, 16, 17-21, esp. 19-20, 22, 23

Quirina, *see* Tribus Quirina

RAINFALL, 9
Regius, 22, 25
Roads, 2-8
Romans, 15, 63
Rusicade, 3, 4

SAHARA, 1
Saracens, 20
Scipio, 57
Sebous, 2, 64, *see also* Seybouse
Semitic, 22, 23, 24
Septimius Severus, 26
Severus, 40
Seybouse, 1, 2, 31
Sheep, 11
Sicca Veneria, 3, 7, 8, 29
Simittu, 3, 6
Simplicianus, 52
Simplicius, 54
Siricius, 43, 52
Sitifi, 44
Sittius, 57
Spain, 57, 60, 62
Spanianum, 33
Stephanus, 30
Stephen, St., 33
Strabonianensis, 33
Sublucu, *see* Sullucco
Subsana, 33
Suffetes, 24
Sullucco, 4
Synod of Hippo, 38-42

TABRACA, 3, 5
Tacatua, 3, 4
Tagaste, *see* Thagaste
Teglata, 6
Temperature, 9-10
Territorium, 31
Thabarca, 31
Thacora, 7
Thagaste, 3, 8
Theogenes, 35
Theudis, 60
Theveste, 32
Thiava, 33
Thuburbominus, 3, 6, 29
Thuraria, 6
Tipasa, 3, 7
Torquatus, 57
Tribes, *see Masaesylies* and *Masylies*
Tribus Quirina, 30
Tricamarum, 60
Trigetius, 59
Tripolis, 47
Tubunae, 46
Tuburbi, *see* Thuburbominus
Tuburbo Minus, *see* Thuburbominus
Tulliense, 33
Tuna, 5
Tunisa, 5
Tuniza, 3, 5
Turres, 33
Tuscan Sea, 60
"Twenty Martyrs," 35

UBUS FLUMEN, 5, *see also* Seybouse
Urgi, 33
Uthina, 29
Utica, 3, 5, 57

VALERIUS, 36, 37, 41
Vandals, 10, 15, 21, 25, 26, 57-61
Vasidice, 7
Vegetables, 10, 14
Verbalis, 33
Veterans, 29 (Note 11)
Vico Augusti, 6
Vico Iuliani, 7
Victoriana, 33
Villa Regis, 46
Vine, 10
Visigoths, 60

WALNUTS, 10
Warfare, 14
Wars
  Civil, 26, 56, 57
  Hannibalic, 57
  Jugurthine, 26
  Punic, second, 10
  third, 25
Wheat, 10, 11
Wine, 14
Women, 15

ZACA, 4